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The Peace Crusade.

THE PEACE CRUSADE RECORD WILL CONTAIN THE LATEST INFORMATION ACCESSIBLE REGARDING THE MOVEMENT OF NATIONS FOR PERMANENT PEACE.

MARCH 22] **PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY.** [1899

BY

LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 14 Bedford Street, BOSTON.

Subscription, - - - 25 cts.

VOL. 1. NO. 2.

This sheet, which we have entitled "The Peace Crusade," will be published once a fortnight, or once a week, as occasion may require, at the office of the LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 14 Bedford St., Boston. The publication will continue until the close of the conference proposed by the Emperor of Russia. The price of subscription will be placed at twenty-five cents for the series. We invite clubs, alliances and peace societies to subscribe for one hundred copies each. For one hundred such subscriptions the price will be $15.00. Copies of a single number $3.00 per hundred.

PEACE CRUSADE COMMITTEE.

Edward E. Hale, *Chairman*
Edwin D. Mead
Charles Fleischer
Charles F. Dole
Frank O. Hall
Charles G. Ames
Lucia Ames Mead
Fred Hovey Allen
Dudley R. Child
Roger E. Tileston
Theodore C. Williams

A CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS.

The Peace Crusade, of which this little paper is the organ, needs a great deal of help. It needs help of various kinds and from all sorts of people. It needs money to carry on its work; it needs men and women to organize meetings and to speak at meetings; it needs clergymen to preach, and editors to write, in its behalf. Above all, as the end to which all these are but means, it needs the support of an awakened and enlightened public conscience. Here it appeals to every humane, enlightened, patriotic man and woman in the land. No one is too unlearned or obscure to help in the formation of a sound public opinion.

The people of the country must be taught to believe that war is Hell, and to act on that belief. That it is a horrible curse, destructive to life, morals, health and property; and that almost any sacrifice should be made to avert it. And that, while it may still be sometimes a ghastly and horrible necessity, a "holy war" is as inconsistent a phrase as a sacred lynching party, or an evangelical vigilance committee. We must refuse to tolerate a word of palliation or apology for the war spirit whether from the pen of Tennyson or Kipling, or from the lips of a supreme court justice. A year ago it was said in the U. S. House of Representatives that "war is healthy to a nation. The United States has been without one for thirty-three years." That the foundations of this great Republic had been formed by the teachings of the mothers who taught their sons that "the greatest possible honor, and highest possible privilege was to fight for country, its safety and honor." (Not, it would seem, to live and work for it.) And that "for a century American mothers had taught their sons that an ounce of glory earned in battle was worth more than a million pounds of gold."

The speakers were well meaning men, but the words came straight from the devil.

5134

World Peace Foundation
Jan. 7. 1913

At present in times of national excitement the cry of our public men, our newspapers, even our philanthropists is, "We hope and pray for peace, but ——." But the time is coming when it will be, "We hope and pray for peace, and therefore——"

As long as the people admire war they will have it. But when they really want peace, when they realize that the best service they can render to their flag is to keep it pure from blood, when in spite of brass bands and popular clamor they labor, and pray, and write to their congressmen for peace, Congress will obey their will and quarrels will be settled without war.

The peace conference can do little without strong popular support. Whoever will can do something, though it may be almost infinitesimal, perhaps only a word spoken now and then in his own home, to help in the noble work of creating this support.

We call for volunteers to begin the work *now*.

THE CRUSADE IN BOSTON.

The first of the series of meetings in Tremont Temple arranged by the Good Citizenship Society was held Monday noon March 6. Mr. Edwin D. Mead, the president of the society, presided, and seated on the platform were Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Rev. Lyman Abbott, D. D. of Brooklyn, Rev. Charles G. Ames, Rabbi Charles Fleischer, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, and other gentlemen. A leaflet of hymns had been prepared, and a large audience joined heartily in singing Chorley's grand hymn, "Give to us peace in our time, O Lord."

In his opening address Mr. Mead alluded to the beautiful fatality which had long ago joined these words to the music of the Russian hymn, and went on to speak of the services which the cause of peace had received from Russians: from Verestchagin in his pictures of the horrors of war; from Tolstoi, in his great tractate, and now from the emperor. Doubts have been expressed of the Czar's sincerity, but Ethan Allen Hitchcock, our late minister to Russia, has paid tribute to the earnestness and far-sightedness of the Czar, and we ought not forget that the greatest Anglo-Saxon statesman of our time, William Ewart Gladstone, devoted much of his strength and earnestness to disabusing the English mind of its dread of Russia. But it is no question of the sincerity of the Czar; the Russian delegates are no majority of those who will meet presently at the Hague.

Mr. Mead described the concern of the people of England at the growing burden of taxation for war expenses. But, said he, we will not draw morals from other countries. Let us think of the danger which threatens us from strong military feelings at home. We do not come here to discuss the issues of the late war; but few of us can contemplate the present war in the Philippines without misgivings and melancholy. No one can listen to the military talk which is so common; to such utterances as that in which Cecil Rhodes calls upon America to push itself, forcibly if need be, into South America—without serious thought. I believe that the American people will never sanction any policy of militarism, but I believe we in America hold the key to the situation, and our responsibility is immense.

Charles Sumner, in Tremont Temple fifty years ago, delivered his oration upon "The True Grandeur of Nations." We simply come to Tremont Temple today to emphasize his word, and to help America to be true to that idea. The public men of Massachusetts have been true to that gospel from the days of Charles Sumner to the days of Senator Hoar, and Massachusetts will be true to it forever.

ADDRESS OF REV. EDWARD E. HALE.

About six weeks ago I was speaking on this subject in a large audience of college professors and their friends, and a gentleman rose and said, "Why, if there is a possibility of permanent peace, has every century been more warlike than the century

before?" That was meant to be what people call a "sticker;" but I replied at once, "Because it is not so." I then counted on my fingers the eight years and one hundred days of war in which the people of the United States have been engaged in the nineteenth century, and compared that against the thirty-six years of war in which the same people were engaged in the century before. We have cut it down in one century from thirty-six years to eight, and what we propose in this next century is to subtract twenty-eight from the eight that are left. That is what we have come here for; we have come here to forget the things that are behind and to reach forward to the things that are before. We have come here to apply to the world the eternal principles which in our own country we have been applying for the last hundred and ten years.

Mr. Hale read the full text of the Czar's circular, in the corrected translation which we published in our first number. He then went on to say:

We are here today representing every form of opinion, people who have worked in all sorts of ranks in the past, because we know as Americans, that it is possible to keep together forty-five nations who live without war; and we mean to teach that lesson to Europe and to mankind.

I have here abstracts of fifteen out of twenty treaties to which the Czar has referred in his rescript. I have, more definitely, several of the specific plans which have been brought forward in the same line. For instance, the great plan of Mr. Blaine which was agreed to by the representatives of sixteen American states. I have the great plan of the Inter-Parliamentary Congress at Brussels. Similar plans have come into many of the recent treaties, as the Czar has said, which I will not undertake to name in detail. But now twenty-six men, from twenty-six of the civilized and Christian nations of the world, will meet next May, and will consider this subject of the relations which nations may take with nations in those foreign affairs where two, three, four, perhaps twenty, must agree.

It is a pathetic thing to say, but the truth is that there is a certain difficulty in speaking on this subject in America, because we all know how to do this thing. We know it from the time we went to school as schoolboys. We have here, as I said just now, forty-five states, proud, independent, sovereign, each taking care of its own affairs, resenting all interference from the outside. And yet these forty-five states live in constant peace. I was coming up through Iowa three year ago this spring, with one of the most intelligent gentlemen I know, a judge in one of the superior courts of the state. As we crossed one of those immense rivers I said, "Is this the Des Moines River that you fellows were going to fight about here?" "Well, really, I don't know. I suppose I ought to know; the next time you come along I *will* know." Now here was a river on one side of which was the army of Iowa encamped in force, on the other side of it the army of Missouri in force, and nothing was wanted but the imprudent word of some deputy-sheriff to have had a thousand men killed on each side. How was the question adjusted? A Permanent Tribunal existed to which Iowa and Missouri had to refer it. The Permanent Tribunal made the decision and Iowa and Missouri were at peace, and have forgotten that they were at war, so completely that, as I say, one of the most intelligent men in the state could not tell me where the river was about which the controversy existed.

This is just as possible between the states of Europe as it is between the states of America. But you cannot make people in Europe understand it without such a call as this from the sovereign of the largest empire in Europe.

Such a thing as peace in Europe is not new. We know that for two hundred years in the reigns of the Antonines, Europe was at peace; and we know that we should not be in this room now if it had not been for

these centuries of peace which brought civilization into Western Europe. This is what I say to my Philistine friend in State Street who says: "Of course you know you have to have a war once in thirty years you know."

And we remember that Henry IV, I should say the first sovereign of Europe for the last four hundred years, after he had made France into one kingdom, conceived the idea of a Permanent Tribunal for all Europe. He drew what he called the Great Design; he made Sully agree to it, certainly the first statesman of Europe for four centuries. They sent it across to Queen Elizabeth and made her agree to it. She was as good a Philistine as the best of them; but she saw the value of a Permanent Tribunal and Cecil and the rest of them saw it and agreed to it. And with those powers on its side, thirteen out of fourteen states of Europe agreed on this Permanent Tribunal. And we should have had the Permanent Tribunal for three centuries, as I believe, but that when Henry (who was as willing as I am to advance peace by the arm of war if necessary) was marching to crush this emperor of Austria who was the last recalcitrant, Ravaillac struck that dagger to his heart, and the heart that beat for the peace of Europe ceased to beat. When people tell me that this is all a matter of poets and dreamers, I like to say that I never heard that Burleigh was an ass or Sully was a fool, or that Henri Quatre did not know what he was talking about. But if, a year ago I had ventured to say that the great man at the head of the largest empire in the world, would before August call a conference together for the purpose of determining the means for a Permanent Tribunal which should ensure perpetual peace, I am afraid I should have been called a dreamer or a poet or a crank or a fool. But as I have said, he has spoken it, the door is open, and those men are going in.

Dr Hale's address closed with a tribute to the lawyers of America and the service they had rendered to the cause of a Permanent Tribunal.

The second meeting in this series will be held Monday, March 20th, when Mr. Samuel Gompers of the Federation of Labor, will speak on "Organized Labor's Contribution to International Peace."

Cardinal Rampolla has addressed the following letter to Mr. W. T. Stead in reference to the Peace Crusade.

"The Crusade you are conducting in favor of peace assuredly deserves the highest praise. The preservation of peace is the noblest aim to which humanity can aspire. There can be no doubt therefore that the Holy See, in harmony with its secular traditions, has the most ardent desire to see all the nations fraternally united in the bonds of peace and to see the reign of justice established in international relations. To the accomplishment of this purpose you are cooperating effectively. In the meantime every man of goodwill, every sincere friend of progress, cannot help having ardent desires that our century, which has shown itself so fertile in the multiplication and perfection of the instruments of war, may, at its close, leave behind some noble accomplishments, which will entitle it to the gratitude of humanity, by its discovery of a means by which the voice of reason may make itself heard in the inevitable conflict between nations."

The correspondent of the London Times writes from Paris:

The Women's Disarmament League, presided over by the Polish Princess Wisznewska, is organizing a woman's *plebiscite* in favor of the Tsar's proposal, and it invites its adherents to hold public meetings. It claims to have already "created an alliance of friendship between Frenchwomen and the women of England, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, America, and Germany," so that "200-000 women are acting in concert with our league in combating the idea of war."

THE ROCHESTER MOVEMENT.

The Peace movement in Rochester has started with enthusiasm. It was originated by the Rev. Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch of the German Baptist Theological Seminary, who with fourteen other clergymen of various denominations signed a circular letter asking all the clergymen of the city to preach on the subject on the 19th of February if possible; and to submit to their respective congregations the following resolution to be ultimately forwarded after adoption to the President of the United States and the Czar of Russia:

Resolved: That we greet with thankfulness to God the appeal of the Czar to the nations, and trust that the hearts of the peoples and their rulers will second his propoposals, and carry to an effective issue this effort to hasten the reign of peace and goodwill on the earth.

It is understood that the suggestion was largely followed by the Protestant clergy. It has also been proposed to interest the public school children, the labor unions, and other organizations. We copy the impressive words with which Prof. Rauschenbusch closed his own sermon on the subject, preached Feb. 12, in the Brick Church:

John Morley, the statesman and historian in England, has said that for a long time to come every man in public life will have to be judged by his attitude to this effort for peace.

Now what can we do, you and I? I will tell you what you can do, if you know how. You can pray. There are not many men nowadays who really pray. If you know how, grip the hand of the Almighty through the darkness and pray for this peace conference.

And use your influence with men. If you know any member of congress or anyone in the department of state, write to them and put it on their conscience. Could you help to get the state legislature in Albany or in other states to pass a resolution and forward it to the Czar? If you have influence in any organization, such as the Chamber of Commerce or a labor union, get them to take action. If your paper publishes a good article on the matter, write an appreciative word to the editor and ask for more. If he publishes nothing or writes cynically, write him too and wake him up. Talk it up to your friends. Constitute yourself a little nervous ganglion in the social body, sending out its insistent thrills as far as it can and trust that other ganglia will take them up and respond. Get your friends in other cities to begin a movement like ours at Rochester. Send them the Rochester papers telling about it. There are only perhaps six weeks more to work. The iron is lying red-hot on the anvil of opportunity. Now hammer it! You are working for your old age, for the welfare of your children, for the generations yet unborn, for the kingdom of God and the Prince of Peace. Only have faith, the faith that sees what is not yet, and makes it actual by its daring.

"We see dimly in the present what is small and
what is great,
Slow of faith how weak an arm may turn the iron
helm of fate.

IN NEW YORK CITY.

Rev. J. W. Hegeman writes from New York City:

"Our committee has recommended the Federation of Churches to issue a call to all the pastors of the city to present the subject to their people on (or before) Palm Sunday. Broadway Tabernacle has already consented to hold a people's meeting Palm Sunday evening, and I think many other churches will take the same action.

"The King's Daughters have sent to all their chapters a resolution on the subject, with a favorable recommendation from the Central Council. Other societies will come into line in extending the movement through their members in various parts of New York."

SHALL AMERICA BE SILENT?

In a letter to the Baltimore Sun, Rt. Rev. William Paret, Bishop of Maryland, says:

"I have been hoping to see among the helpful editorial articles of our leading papers one or more which would give full and fair consideration to the remarkable appeal to the nations from the Czar of Russia. It was natural that the cry for peace, even from such a source, should be drowned for awhile in the din and excitement of our own immediate war. But we can now begin to think more calmly, and to look beyond the atmosphere of immediate pressure.

"I know that the sincerity of the Czar's call for peace has been questioned. However that may be, the opportunity, the possibility, the probability, of an international congress in which all the great powers of the world shall be represented by their best men, to study the question of disarmament, is rich with hope. But I cannot see that it has met with very serious consideration anywhere. The great powers of Europe have some of them given answer, and in many ways, in England especially, action is proposed and begun for the furtherance of the movement for peace.

"But in this country there has been no really generous answer to the Czar's noble invitation. We can have time and freedom of thought now to consider what answer we shall make. I say "we," because, while in Europe the sovereign speaks for himself and his own will, here the people are supposed to speak through their President. President McKinley waited until he could gather what he believed to be the judgment of the people before he decided the policy with Spain. May not the voice of the nation be heard on this most important matter, and so heard that it shall waken our statesmen in office to generous and positive co-operatiod?"

Letters at this offic indicate that this call will soon find response in Baltimore.

CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR SOCIETIES.

The Christian Endeavor people in Boston are deeply interested in the Tremont Temple meetings. Rev. Francis E. Clark, the president of the United Society, writes:

"I am glad that the Massachusetts Good Citizenship Society is moving in the question of Peace, the greatest question, I believe, of the coming century. I think the Christian Endeavor societies throughout the country will heartly take up this matter as something peculiarly appropriate to their international brotherhood. I enclose the proof of a "Familiar Letter" which I have just written on the subject, and a copy of the "memorial" which I think will be very generally signed. Mr. Stead is particularly interested in this phase of the work, as the Endeavorers in Great Britain and Australia and other lands as well as America are reached by it. At the great international convention in London 1900, this will be one of the topics which will receive largest attention; and at that meeting it is expected that fifty or sixty thousand young men and women will come together from all parts of the world. I write this simply to let you know that I am heart and soul with you in this effort for the establishment of the greatest crusade of modern times."

The memorial to Congress, which will be signed by thouands of the members of the Christian Endeavor Societies, is as follows:

"We, whose names are affixed hereunto, are members and friends of the societies of Christian Endeavor, numbering in this country over forty thousand organizations, with more than two and one-half millions of members, and in foreign lands over fourteen thousand organizations, with nearly one million members. It is the sense of our world-wide fellowship that impels us to this memorial. Canada, Great Britain, and Australia contain hundreds of thousands whom we have come to honor and love as brethren. Among the Hindoos and Persians, the Chi-

nese and Japanese, the natives of Africa and Madagascar, the republics of South America, are large numbers who are thus closely knit to us. Our comrades in Christian Endeavor are found in France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Switzerland, Turkey, Greece, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark Austria, Belgium. In Spain itself, our foe in the late war, is a rapidly increasing number of them, and Christian Endeavorers were found in each of the opposing armies.

In view of these facts, we wish to express our abhorrence of war, and our solemn conviction that it is the duty of every civilized nation to do all in its power toward making war impossible. We wish to record our desire for the speedy establishment of an International Tribunal of Arbitration. We wish to show our interest in the conference proposed by the Emperor of Russia, and to urge that our country join promptly and heartily in that conference. And especially we desire to appeal for the immediate consideration of the question of arbitration between this nation and Great Britain, that the Anglo-Saxon race may become united in the interests of peace and good-will."

THE VISION OF PEACE.

Peace, peace to come, to be.
If such were certainty,—
At last, far off, at latest, any while,—
What woe were hard to bear?
What sorrow worth one tear?
Murder would soften, dark despair would smile.

Good-will,—consider this!
What easy, perfect bliss,
If over all the earth the one change spread!
That hate and fear should die,
And men in amity
Let go rapine and wrong and fear and dread.

Till these things come to pass,
Nay,—if it be, indeed, alas!
A vision, let us sleep and dream it true!
Or, sane and broad awake,
For its great sound and sake,
Take it, and make it earth's, and peace ensue!

—*Edwin Arnold.*

THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD.*

This little book of Dr. Trueblood's comes at a most convenient moment. It is a statement simply of the possible application to Europe of the great principles of law, one is tempted to say, of international law, which have bound together, first thirteen states on the seaboard of the Atlantic, and now forty-five states whose dominion extends from ocean to ocean.

Mr. James Bryce's great book on the American Commonwealth shows in a pathetic and most amusing way the difficulty which he had, and which most people in Europe still have, in understanding how there can be local sovereignty for local affairs, while there shall be a general sovereignty for general affairs. It is this distinction between home government and national government which makes the great distinction of the Federal Constitution. It is this distinction which entitles it to Mr. Gladstone's famous compliment, that it embodies more sense than any other work of man which was ever struck off in the same period of time. And now Dr. Trueblood shows in these papers how the affairs of each separate nation in Europe could be attended to with all the pomp or all the feudalism, or all the old customs that anybody wanted, while at the same time there should grow up what Mr. Tennyson called "the federation of the world."

To take the single matter which will rouse most discussion this summer; every state may maintain the armament which it wants to, need not abridge its stores by the diminution of a bullet or of a pistol. It may have as many uniforms for its troops as it wants, and it may arm them with any rifles which it prefers. All the same, if a quarrel should turn up between Bohemia and Bulgaria, there would be methods, such as are known in our commercial life, for the settlement of that quarrel without an appeal to fisticuffs or to war.

*The Federation of the World. By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

We are so entirely used to this on this side of the ocean that Dr. Trueblood's book will be passed by without the welcome it deserves. One cannot help wishing it might be translated into a dozen languages of the leading states of Europe; and it would be a blessed thing if the leading people of Europe could be made to understand it.

Mr. Bryce says, in a pathetic note somewhere in his book, that he has never met with any European writer who understood the relations of our absolutely firm home government of each state with our equally firm national administration, excepting in one instance. It seems there was a certain Swiss schoolmaster who understood this, and printed it in a pamphlet. If now the Swiss schoolmaster could get hold of Dr. Trueblood's book and could translate it and could make the rulers of the European world read it, he would do no end of good.

E. E. H.

The London Times says:

The British Government has accepted the invitation without reference to the points of Count Muravieff's last circular relating to technical military matters, but warm approval is expressed of the proposals to discuss and promote the work of international mediation and arbitration, as England has always been in favor of these means of averting war. There can be no difficulty or objection in any quarter to confer together on these grounds, while the technical question will not be so easily approached.

All the governments and states of Europe, both large and small, have now answered Count Muravieff's last appeal and promised to send delegates. It would seem that no further programme will be issued by Russia, the contents of Count Muravieff's last circular being apparently considered sufficient to enable the Governments which take part to give full instructions to their representatives at the Conference, which, it is expected will meet in the month of May next.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Feb. 15, '99.

MY DEAR DR. HALE:—It seems scarcely necessary to say that I find myself in sympathy with you at every point. The Czar's proposition seems to me one of the most significant events of this century. Surely the time is coming when the great nations of Christendom, through their representatives, may come to such an understanding as shall result in an immense reduction of the standing armies, and hasten the day of universal and permanent peace.

With cordial regard, I am Yours,

PHILIP S. MOXOM.

The Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia is to hold tri-weekly meetings at its rooms, every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, for two months.

It has been suggested that Peace meetings should be called all over the country on the day of the opening of the Peace conference at The Hague, May 18. The suggestion is an admirable one.

We shall be very glad if people everywhere—churches and societies, who are interested in organizing such meetings for this day, will make it known to us; and if they need suggestions or help of any kind we shall be glad to co-operate.

This office will send the following publications:

THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD. By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D. 75 c.

DIPLOMACY, ARBITRATION, AND THE PERMANENT TRIBUNAL. By Edward E. Hale. 3c. each; $2.00 per hundred.

A PERMANENT TRIBUNAL. By Edward E. Hale. 3c. each; $2.00 per hundred.

ORGANIZE THE WORLD! By Edwin D. Mead. $1.50 per hundred; $10.00 per thousand.

HYMNS FOR THE PEACE CRUSADE. $1.00 per hundred; $7.00 per thousand.

THE CZAR'S MANIFESTO. $2.00 per thousand.

"WAR AGAINST WAR." 2 c. Mr. Stead's newspaper.

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FOOLISH CRITICISM.

It is becoming more and more evident that those who have the Peace movement at heart must be not only enthusiastic and zealous but well-equipped with facts and figures and arguments to oppose the objections which even intelligent persons are constantly presenting.

One absurd and wide-spread misapprehension is that the success of the movement depends on the sincerity of the Russian government. It is beyond doubt that the Tsar is intensely anxious for peace, that the Russian people, of all peoples on the planet, desire peace. But it is asked, How about the shrewd, scheming ministers? Are they not making a tool of the Tsar? Is not their purpose to save money from armaments to complete their trans-Siberian railway and pour their troops eastward to subjugate China and India?

To this, let it be said, whether we rely on arbitration or war, whether we decrease or increase armaments, that railway will be built. Suspicion, jealousy and failure to act on the part of the conference at the Hague will simply enormously increase the poverty, famine and distress accompanying the building of the road; it will not prevent it. Nothing will be gained and there will be infinite loss in case our suspicion of the Russian government prevents action in the direction of gradual, proportionate disarmament and the setting up of arbitration courts. Let Russia be as malevolent and dangerous as the most sceptical can imagine, the general question is thereby not one jot affected. If Russia "wants time to recuperate" so does every other nation. Cecil Rhodes declares that if he had the money which England will spend in warships in the next five years he could complete the Cape-to-Cairo railroad.

The danger of instant, complete disarmament is a bug-a-boo of the would-be economist among our critics, who says the industrial world would be thrown into anarchy by the sudden return of soldiers to peaceful

pursuits. It is astonishing to find how many intelligent persons present this witless argument. As if any sane person supposed that all armies would be instantly disbanded, as all our slaves were set free, by the stroke of a pen! Let us assure him that no peace advocates expect any such miracle, any more than they expect to see liquor-selling or gambling cease tomorrow.

But even if this miracle occurred, let us remember that disarming is not disbanding. Let our soldiers, if industry so requires, return gradually to their own shops, and the bulk if they choose remain for a time in the employment of the state as they are now, only let the state set them to work at constructive instead of destructive work. Let them make coats instead of corpses, let them plow the wheat field instead of fertilizing the battlefield with their own blood. Let them earn their living, which old men and women and children and the burdened peasants are now earning for them, and let our would-be economists be sure they know all the elements of the problem before they criticize the solution which the Peace crusaders offer. L. A. M.

LAW AND COMMERCE.

Law, the first daughter of the voice of God, asserts herself, as civilzation advances, and will be heard. As Mr. Depew says, the lawyers stated for the English world the eternal truth, that there is something higher than royalty, higher than the divine right of kings. It is this divine right of Law. Somewhere, as God lives, there shall be a statement of what God wills, which even kings must conform to. Somewhere and somehow, as the Czar says in his rescript, there may be made a formal statement of the principles on which rest the stability of states and the welfare of the people. To get this statement written down in black and white, is the business of the men of Law. It does not seem to me, that as we go and come we think enough of this foundation on which rests the security of states, and the welfare of people. The word "Civilization," how great a word it is! That which is fixed,—the firm foundation on which all is built. I make a plantation for coffee in Guatemala, and tomorrow half a dozen bandits turn me out. I plant some cocoa nuts in Fiji, and when the trees grow some one else takes the fruit. I rub my eyes and learn that it is because in those states nothing is fixed. The Rock of Ages is not acknowledged. I find out, what I ought to have learned at home where I saw a policeman in uniform, what is the absolute necessity of Law.

Well, the illustration of this comes to Boston, to New York, to London, where in the midst of what I may call the luxury of commerce, in the very daintiness of modern business, a newsboy shouts some morning, "War with England!" "War with America!" You who conduct great business operations have not forgotten the experience of 1895, when of a sudden it was said that if the boundary between Guiana and Venezuela were not adjusted off hand, England and America must send their fleets to war. There had been people who had for years been saying that such collisions were possible, and that Civilization must adjust them. Henry IV had said so; William Penn had said so; Immanuel Kant had said so; Ellery Channing had said so. Great generals had said so, like Grant and Von Moltke even. But the men of affairs? Ah, they were following the markets too closely. They were refining silver in the Andes, they were washing gold in Australia, they had really no time to listen to the songs of poets or prophets. And because they had no time the newsboy shouted war under their windows! Then they found time. As with one pulse, surely with one voice, the great commercial centers spoke. London said, New York said, "We do not care much about Diplomacy, but we do care about Peace. Some way must be found to bring this difficulty to an end."

And the world obeyed London and New York. And the way was found.

Indeed, as commerce emerges from what we call peddling, and deserves the larger name of commerce, with its own ingenuity it devises plans by which two travellers on the same road shall not crowd each other. Even if it is necessary to have a policeman at the corners, my cab shall not run into his dray, nor his dray crush my cab. A great manufacture of reapers is in New York, another is in Ohio perhaps, and a third in Illinois perhaps. Shall they put their agents into Chicago, each to bid against the other? If they are fools, yes. If they mean larger business, no. They agree that one firm shall take the business east of the Mississippi, one the business between the River and the Pacific, and one the business of Europe. "Let us have Peace," instead of, let us have war. Does this mean that Ohio shall tell New York how to arrange her factories? Not by the thread of a nut, or the shape of a screw head. Independent at home, each maker negotiates about his business abroad. And here is the great advance made in 1787, when our Constitution formed itself. It is admirably illustrated in the little book by Dr. Trueblood. He calls it "The Federation of the World," borrowing Tennyson's phrase. Home Rule at home, absolute and unbroken: Massachusetts shall make its own school laws, water its own streets, appoint its own judges, ring its own curfews. So shall New York, so shall Rhode Island. But as between Massachusetts and Rhode Island, if there is a question as to boundary, a Supreme Court shall decide it. If a thief runs from New York to Massachusetts, a Supreme Court may order his return if Massachusetts is slow.

As between outside relations, there shall be a law between nations, an international court, and this shall be a Supreme Tribunal.

"Peace on earth and good will!
Souls that are gentle and still
Hear the first murmur of this
Far off, infinite bliss."

THE WORKERS' VIEW OF PEACE.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, spoke at the second of the meetings arranged by the Good Citizenship Society. Of his address the Boston Advertiser says editorially:

There was much in the address delivered by Mr. Samuel Gompers in Tremont Temple at noon yesterday, which workingmen will do well to remember and think very seriously upon.

Mr. Gompers made it plain that not only he and the organization which he represents are in earnest in behalf of the peace promoting side of the great questions affecting the issue of peace or war now under discussion, but that the influence of the wage-earning classes throughout the world is strongly and increasingly thrown into the same scale. It was not by any means a wholly imaginary prophecy in which he indulged, of a soon coming time when, by common consent of skilled workmen all over the globe, they will refuse to employ their trained hands and practically educated minds in manufacturing weapons of war; and when laborers in all the nations of the earth will, acting under the instinct of self-preservation, decline any longer to handle the machinery of death for one another's destruction, at the bidding of men who, for their own gain, wish other men to wade in blood.

In declaring that every national or international conference of working men that has ever assembled in modern times has declared for the principle of settling international difficulties by peaceful means, the president of the Federation of Labor made a notable claim. In the absence of evidence to the contrary it is fairly to be assumed that he spoke no more than the records in his possession show to be true. Certainly it is a thing of which any class of men may well be honorably proud always to have cast the weight of numbers and of enthusiasm on that side of one of the greatest of living issues where the common good of rich and

poor and high and lowly is to be found.

It was wholesome for the Tremont Temple audience to be reminded that the petition signed by 300 members of the British parliament praying for a permanent treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was brought by the president of the British Stone Cutters' Union, Mr. William Randall Cramer, who bore authority from that great organization of skilled workmen to declare for them their earnest desire that there should be henceforth assured peace between the two great English speaking nations.

The endorsement, too, by the American Federation of Labor at its national meeting in Baltimore in 1897, of the then pending treaty of permanent peace between the two countries, and its unanimous vote requesting the senate to ratify the treaty, were significant occurences, as also the very emphatic resolutions adopted unanimously by the same organization at its national meeting in Kansas City a few months ago: "We endorse the position taken by the president, on the invitation extended by the Czar of Russia to the nations of the world, inviting them to send representatives to a conference with a view to the disarmament of nations; and this convention places itself on record as approving of any movement which tends to bring peace to the world."

The cause of peace is in a peculiar sense the working man's cause. The wastes and ravages of war fall more heavily upon him than upon any one else. Nothing hinders the improvement of the industrial and social condition of wage earners so seriously. What ex-Senator Evarts said a number of years ago, about the reason for the wretched condition of wage-earners in Europe, is a truth whose lesson applies equally to workingmen in our own country, as a warning to them not to be swept away by the perilous tide of popular clamor for military glory; namely, that in Europe, wage-earners can earn but little, because every workingman goes to his task daily with a soldier on his back.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD.

At the third of the Boston series of meetings, Rev. Lyman Abbott, D.D, was the speaker. Our space permits but a scanty outline of the address. We shall hope in later numbers to print some passages in full:

There are two articles of the Christian creed, said Dr. Abbott, which have never been formulated by any council, but in which all churches agree. Those articles are the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. And the brotherhood of man carries with it either the abolition of national lines in one great national organization or the brotherhood of nations. It is of this brotherhood of nations that I am to speak.

In the history of the past hundred years it is easy to see a striking tendency toward unification. Nations have come together even physically. Steam has bridged the oceans that once separated them; the cable enables us to talk with our friend in Liverpool. Again, commercial barriers have broken down, and commercial highways have been opened up. Piracy and privateering have disappeared, war itself is no longer the enemy to commerce that it once was. On this continent are forty-five independent states, not separated by a custom house. The unification in national and political ideals has been yet more striking and a great industrial unification has joined the laborers of all nations. Religion, too, is no longer the divisive force it once was. Never again shall we see a "religious war." The great religious forces of the world are all forces for unification.

These are signs and symbols of the truth that we are growing together, that the world is getting itself organized. We have had nations organized, but the world disorganized; now the nations are to learn how to be one great family. And material civilization, political progress, national history, industrial development, and religious thought are five rivers that flow together to make one

splendid, majestic stream which we will call International Brotherhood.

What are we to do to promote this international brotherhood? First, we are to make it distinctly our ideal; to bid good-by to the provincialism which thinks itself patriotism because it sneers at every nation but its own. We are to look forward to the time when the barriers between nations will be broken down, when all nations will join not to tear each other down but to build each other up. We are to forecast the time when bitterness and wrath will cease between the nations, as bitterness and wrath have ceased between our homes; when it will seem as extraordinary to have a fort protecting the harbor of a commercial city against possible attack from another city as it would be now to have a drawbridge or a portcullis in front of your door to protect you from the assault of your neighbor across the street.

With this ideal before us we are to establish, by the influence of the civilized nations, the power of law throughout the globe. We are to do this first by the ministry of reason, by the adjudication of legal and recognized tribunals. What we want between the nations is not arbitration, not an agreement to leave controversies, when they arise, to a court constructed for the purpose, after the issue has arisen. We want a Permanent Supreme Court for the nations, by the decision of which all nations will be bound by the obligations of honor.

But there are communities that are not reasonable and are not bound by honor, and then there is no alternative but to compel obedience to reason and to honor. We must establish courts of reason for the settlement of controversies between civilized nations. We must maintain a force sufficient to preserve law and order among barbaric nations—and we have no need of an army for any other purpose. We must follow the maintenenance of law and the establishment of order with the vitalizing forces that make for civilization, and we must constantly keep our eyes forward to the time when the whole world will have become civilized. And then, with glad heart and singing lips, we will draw our sword Excalibur from its sheath and fling it out into the sea, rejoicing that it is gone forever.

Rev. Reuen Thomas of Brookline also spoke briefly of the demoralizing influence of war, and of the great crusade in England, which we notice in another column.

THE MOVEMENT IN PHILADELPHIA.

The following circular, issued on March 22, and sent by the signers to the leading citizens of Philadelphia, shows how earnestly the work is being begun in that city and in what splendid hands it is:

"It is proposed to form in Philadelphia a Committee for the purpose of arousing public sentiment in favor of the coming International Conference to be held at The Hague, in compliance with the invitation of the Czar of Russia as expressed in his recent irenicon. The Committee will act independently of any and all of the old Peace Societies, and will continue its work only until the time set for the International Conference. Its object will be to disseminate literature and perhaps to hold some public meetings in favor of the establishment of a Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration in accordance with the principle embodied in the United States Supreme Court. It is hoped that the public opinion of this nation will insist upon the advocacy of such a Tribunal by our representatives at The Hague Conference. Similar work for the peaceful federation of nations has already been undertaken in Boston and New York. If you are interested in this matter, you are invited to attend a meeting to be held for the purpose of organizing such a Committee, in the second story front room of the Young Men's Christian Association Building, S. E. Cor. 15th and Chestnut Streets, at 4 P. M. on Friday, 24th inst. If you are unable to be present but desire to become a member of such a Committee,

please send your name and address to any one of the gentlemen named below, who have already consented to serve on such Committee, and at whose request this meeting is called.

Most Rev. PATRICK J. RYAN, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Philadelphia; Rt. Rev. OZI W. WHITAKER, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania; Rev. CYRUS D. FOSS, Methodist Episcopal Bishop in Philadelphia; Rev. JOSEPH MAY, First Unitarian Church; Rev. KERR BOYCE TUPPER, First Baptist Church; Rev. GEORGE D. BAKER, First Presbyterian Church; Rev. HENRY BERKOWITZ, Rodef Shalom; Rev. J. WHEATON SMITH, Rev. SAMUEL E. APPLETON, Rev. H. CLAY TRUMBULL, Rev. JOSEPH LYONS MILLER, Rev. S. E. SNIVELY, JOHN H. CONVERSE, JOHN B. GARRETT, DAVID SCULL, FRANCIS B. REEVES, RICHARD Y. COOK, THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY, RALPH F. CULLINAN, ISAAC H. CLOTHIER, JOHN R. FANSHAWE, C. N. WEYGANDT, WALTER WOOD, ASA S. WING, J. ROBERTS FOULKE, WILLIAM H. LAMBERT, HENRY TATNALL, WILLIAM NEWBOLD ELY, SAMUEL H. CRAMP, GEORGE BURNHAM, JR., CLARKSON CLOTHIER, ARTHUR H. LEA, STUART WOOD, S. BURNS WESTON, Editor *International Journal of Ethics*, HERBERT WELSH, Editor *City and State*, ISAAC SHARPLESS, President of Haverford College, EDWIN S. STUART, Ex-Mayor of Philadelphia, GEORGE CHANCE, United Labor League, ENOCH LEWIS, THOMAS MEEHAN, ROBERT R. CORSON, J. DUNEAS LIPPINCOTT, CHARLES ROBERTS, EDWIN SWIFT BALCH, E. M. WISTAR, Dr. JOHN B. ROBERTS, DR. SOLOMON SOLIS COHEN, Hon. WILLIAM B. HANNA, President Judge, Hon. WILLIAM N. ASHMAN, Hon. CLEMENT B. PENROSE, Hon. JOSEPH C. FERGUSON, Judge of the Orphans' Court, Hon. DIMNER BEEBER, Judge of the Superior Court, Hon. JOHN CADWALADER, Hon. ROBERT E. PATTISON, Ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, Hon. JAMES M. BECK, U.S. District Attorney, HAMPTON L. CARSON, FRANK P. PRICHARD, R. FRANCIS WOOD, THOMAS WILLING BALCH, J. RODMAN PAUL, HENRY LABARRE JAYNE, JOHN H. CHESNUT, GEORGE GLUYAS MERCER.

THE PEACE CRUSADE IN ENGLAND.

We have received files up to March 10 of "War Against War," the great weekly paper which Mr. William T. Stead is publishing in London, as an organ of the Peace Crusade. It should be widely read, and will come to our people as a revelation. Every number breathes a spirit of tremendous earnestness and inspiring enthusiasm. They contain letters or expressions of hearty sympathy from peers, bishops, clergymen, and literary men. The editorials are remarkable appeals, and many earnest addresses are reported. They record the growth of the movement on the continent of Europe, and what little there is to report from this country. But their great value consists in the record of the wonderful campaign for peace which has been going on all over England, and which we have not half realized. We are told that "The Crusade started with the great Conference at St. James's Hall, on Peace, Sunday, December 18." It was Mr. Stead who at this meeting opened the campaign with this ringing call:

"I shall ask you each and all to make a solemn vow unto the Lord and to your fellow-men that from this day until the end of March you will enlist as soldiers in this Campaign of Peace, the Holy War against war, in the same spirit and with the same earnestness that you would aid in defending your country against an invading foe. I shall ask you to give this Crusade of Peace precedence in your thoughts, in your words, in your actions, over all other political, social, or religious questions, over your business and over your pleasures, for it is a matter of life and death, of salvation or damnation to the nations. I want your time, I want your energies, I want your money, I want your life—for three months. That, and nothing else than that, is what I am asking."

As a result of the meeting an Executive Committee was formed and the Bishop of London accepted the Chairmanship of it.

The Executive Committee at once secured

offices at Talbot House, 9 Arundel street, W. C., and decided to print a million copies of a four-page broadsheet explaining the objects of the movement. This broadsheet was offered in the first place to the editors of leading papers in the provinces as a supplement. With but few exceptions they cordially accepted the offer, and letters from these gentlemen, fully in touch as they must be with provincial opinion, were the first great proof that the committee received of the absolute need for some definite and energetic expression of the opinion of the country. On all hands came the same answer, which, summarized, was: "We have written leaders in favor of the proposals of the Tzar, which we are sending you herewith. Our local bodies everywhere have expressed hearty approval of the effort to bring organized common sense to bear on this question, and, and we know that our public men of all shades of opinion approve."

An appeal, signed by the Bishop, was next addressed to public men throughout the country, asking their help, and special invitations were sent to a number of men and women of position asking them to join the General Committee. These replies were the second great inspiration that the committee received.

The first step in organization was to decide that the expression of public opinion everywhere should, if possible, take the form of towns' meetings called by the head of the local authority, whoever he might be, such as the Mayor, Chairman of the District Council or Vestry, and so on, on a request signed by men and women of all parties and sects. Invitations to sign a form of requisition were sent out. Again the replies were prompt and cordial. "I will gladly sign and do all in my power to help you," was the spirit of each and all.

One interesting feature of the work has been the enrollment of hundreds of volunteers in response to Mr. Stead's appeal, to serve as provided in the following application:

"I hereby enlist in the service of the Crusade of Peace, and undertake for three months from now to do all that in me lies to promote the success of the effort now being made by the Tsar to seek "by means of International discussion the most effectual means of insuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting an end to the progressive development of the present armaments." In proof whereof I undertake:

(*a*) To obtain signatures to the International Memorial.

(*b*) To enlist two other volunteers.

(*c*) To attend any general muster of the volunteers in my district in support of the cause.

(*d*) To subscribe at least 1 d. per week during my term of service, or 1 s. for the three months.

Of course the meetings varied in character and in the degree of success, but almost all were well attended. Mr. Stead wrote January 30, that he had addressed six meetings during the week, and only one in which every seat was not occupied. At many of them all the standing room was densely packed, and they were in most cases free from any suspicion of party bias. One hundred and thirty-six meetings had been held up to March 1, and more than thirty had been arranged for subsequent to that date. A great National Convention was appointed to be held at St. Martin's Town Hall, Charing Cross, March 21, with delegates from over fifty Town Meetings, and several hundred churches. And so the work goes in Imperial England.

There are several reasons which readily occur to our minds for the unpleasant fact that the English have taken this great appeal of the Czar so much more seriously than we have; but all true lovers of peace must feel with shame and disappointment that the United States is lagging in the rear. There is still time to do something worthy of the cause.

ENDEAVORERS' WAR AGAINST WAR!

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

One of the great world movements, I believe, is that in favor of peace on earth and good will to men. The fulfilment of the angel's song seems to have been long upon the way, but the prospects for its speedy realization were never so bright as to-day, in all the history of the nineteen centuries since the celestial choir gave it voice. The *rapprochement* of England and America during the last year has been one of the great events of history; the consequent increase of good feeling between Canada and the United States has made all our hearts glad; and the brave young Czar of all the Russias has crowned it all by his noble utterance in behalf of national disarmament.

Here is a great world issue into which Christian Endeavorers can throw themselves heart and soul. The proposals for peace have no partisan squint. It is not a move upon the political chess board, or, if some individuals and nations would selfishly degrade it to this low level, the whole subject is so much vaster and nobler than party politics, that time-serving tricksters will be swept away, finding the movement too big for them.

I am not one of those who believe the Czar's rescript to be the trick of a wily demagogue, and from our present knowledge of his purpose and character I think these suspicions are unworthy of any generous mind. But even at the worst, supposing that what his enemies say is true, and that he is not sincere in the matter, let the Christian world take him at his word, and demand in good faith the carrying out of these noble proposals that look finally to the beating of every sword into a ploughshare and every spear into a pruning hook.

What is more appropriate than that our society should cast its influence in favor of international arbitration and universal peace? It has opportunities for re-echoing the angel's song, possessed by no other organization.

It is our duty as Christians, as young Christians with a future century before us, as Christians with such a magnificent opportunity to further a good cause, to do all that we may to deserve the beatitude of the peace-makers.

Here is one thing that we can do. We can all pray for this cause that is as wide as the earth, as high as heaven, and as important as the counsels of God. Here is something definite, practical and tangible, and let no humble Endeavorer who believes in prayer, forget that he can do something to move the arm that moves the world and to hasten the glad day of universal peace.

We can, too, help answer our own prayers. We can petition (this is always within the rights of free-born Anglo-Saxons); we can agitate the subject; we can help create public opinion; we can devote a session of our local or State union to the subject; we can show the world that so far as we are concerned the Christian youth of America are looking eagerly forward to the new day when war shall be counted with slavery and polygamy, as one of the barbarities of a backward age. FRANCIS E. CLARK.

THIS OFFICE OFFERS FOR SALE:

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HYMNS FOR THE PEACE CRUSADE. $1.00 per hundred; $7.00 per thousand.

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"WAR AGAINST WAR." 2 c. Mr. Stead's newspaper.

The Peace Crusade.

THE PEACE CRUSADE RECORD WILL CONTAIN THE LATEST INFORMATION ACCESSIBLE REGARDING THE MOVEMENT OF NATIONS FOR PERMANENT PEACE.

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This sheet, which we have entitled "The Peace Crusade," will be published once a fortnight at the office of the LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 1 Beacon St., Boston. The publication will continue until the close of the conference proposed by the Emperor of Russia. The price of subscription will be placed at twenty-five cents for the series. We invite clubs, alliances and peace societies to subscribe for one hundred copies each. For one hundred such subscriptions the price will be $15.00.

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THE LARGE STATES AND THE SMALL.

There is no better reading at the present time than the reports, all too scanty, of the proceedings of the convention of 1787, which made the Federal Constitution of the United States. It is said on good authority to have been the greatest job of work which was ever knocked off in so short a time by any body of men. The parallel between this convention and that which meets at The Hague to-morrow is very close. Students of the history of the next month will observe with interest, as they read that of a hundred and twelve years ago, that in that old history there is a constant jealousy between the small states and the large ones. There is plenty of room for the same jealousy now between states like Switzerland, Holland, and Spain on the one hand, and empires like those of Russia and England on the other. It is rather interesting to remark that no one of the difficulties which were at that time apprehended by the leaders of the small states has ever shown itself in the Federal Constitution in one hundred years.

I do not, however, mean to write as if we were going to establish a federal constitution for Europe now. What we are going to do is to give system to the arrangements between nations for the careful discussion of difficulties which may arise between them. It is very satisfactory to see that even the words "permanent tribunal" occur more and more often in the discussions of the subject, whether by the ignorant or by the well informed people; and there is no danger in prophesying now that the best work of the Conference will be shown in its success in gradually improving the system of what till now has been called diplomacy.

If the object of the meeting were, as a very foolish world has chosen to suppose, the destruction of war-ships and the throwing gunpowder into the water, it is clear enough that the small states would like to have this operation made as extensive as possible. In

point of fact, this destruction of military machinery now existing will hardly be alluded to, and it is quite safe to say that nothing will be done about it.

There is a class of subjects bearing on the co-operative or commercial work of nations which may, by good fortune and by good sense combined, assume much more importance than has been given them in the preliminary discussion. The commercial arrangements of the world have been left to drift very much, so that it is almost a miracle if we get a proper ferryway established for the steamers between Liverpool and New York. In fact, the instructions which Telemachus received when he visited the port of Acre in Fenelon's novel, might be said to be quite as definite as those which govern half the maritime commerce of the world to-day. It is possible that by good luck something may be done on practical matters like these. It is worth remembering that the Zollverein of Germany, a purely commercial institution, preceded by more than a generation the formation of the German Empire.

As these lines may never work their way into the private cabinet of his majesty the Emperor of Germany, there is no harm in saying that if the empire of Germany is not represented in the first court established as a Permanent Tribunal between the great nations, that court can still go forward with dignity. And the same result may follow as followed when twelve states made the Constitution of the United States, and, two years after, the independent state of Rhode Island found it desirable to annex itself to their number.

EDWARD E. HALE.

ARE WE LIVING IN THE DARK AGES?

The question seems absurd, preposterous. But let us consider it a little.

So far as the individual man is concerned, there can be no doubt that the world has made enormous progress in the last five or six hundred years. The old feudal castle is to-day either a picturesque ruin, or is transformed into a peaceful residence. We see no more the lazy horde of retainers and men at arms, fed at their lord's table, and ever ready to fight his private or public battles,—to burn, kill, and plunder, for his "honor," his aggrandizement, or his caprices. The robber baron himself is to-day the fox-hunting, law-abiding country gentleman and justice of the peace. His old feudal banner is only found, if at all, in museums or in old engravings; his coat-of-arms, no longer blazoned on his shield, inspiring his retainers to violence and rapine, is now merely a harmless object of pride to peaceful descendants,—as at most, an inspiration to a life worthy of an illustrious ancestry. Peace and order are the rule. Roads, railways, machinery, commerce, literature, have softened the manners and wholly changed the life of the people. Courts of justice settle disputes, both small and great, and no man may now take the law into his own hands. We have learned that we can preserve our honor without duelling; and private wars are viewed with horror, and are almost unknown in civilized lands. Even the German professor,—most unfit delegate to the Peace Conference,—who says that war is good as a promoter of culture, would hardly consider these changes as signs of a relapse into barbarism. The rough-rider Roosevelt, with his Berserker thirst for blood, might, we believe, find the loud and sanguinary family war of the Hatfields and McCoys, on the West Virginia border, too "strenuous a life," even for his taste.

But the nations, alas! are still in the dark ages of mediævalism. Year by year they go on adding to the already vast number of their armed and idle retainers; piling up a great total of ships, and guns, and munitions of war; multiplying and strengthening their strongholds; seizing the lands of those who are weaker; confronting each other armed to the teeth, ready at any moment to engage again in the evil business of wholesale

butchery, centuries after the retail dealers, the robber barons, have been swept out of existence by the advance of civilization.

The national flag, which should inspire only lofty patriotism and devotion to high principles, is too often a fetich; and, like the war-cry and blazoned shield of the feudal chief, only incites the unthinking to hatred and violence toward the rest of mankind. Wars, it is true, are less frequent; but the armed retainers still go out, occasionally, shouting their several war-cries, on such trivial or immoral grounds, like those of the Crimean, the Austro-Prussian, and the Franco-Prussian wars, as would disgrace a bully or a gambler. And though nearly three hundred years have passed since Henry of Navarre conceived his grand scheme of a Federation of Europe, no effectual step has yet been taken to restrain these mighty and dangerous giants, by any form of law.

Is not this incredible folly and stupidity? Why should men go on as a community doing things, which as individuals, they have long since discarded? The substitution of law for violence between nations, a change which works so well between man and man, and between the States of the American Union, should be the earnest aim of every patriot and of every sensible citizen. The Czar's Conference offers the opportunity. Only the pessimist will sneer; only the lover of war or the coward can stand idly by, without an effort or an encouraging word. The proposed International Court, to which disputes *may*, and perhaps, in time, *must* be referred, is simple, practical, and full of promise. It is no more impracticable than was the establishment of the supremacy of law over the brute force and violence of earlier ages.

Where are the reformers, the patriots, the philanthropists, the keen men of business; why do they neglect this chance?

Will not posterity look back with pitying wonder, on the barbarism of the nations of these present dark ages; on France, and Russia, and England, and perhaps even on the United States? There is yet time to make the last years of the century bright, as the beginning of a new era of national civilization.

D. G. H., Jr.

PACIFICATION.

The condition of affairs in the East, or the West, as people choose to call the Philippines, gives special interest to the great object-lesson which Sir Andrew Clarke, "The Pacificator," and his successors have given us since 1874, in the Straits Settlement and the fifteen native States which are now united in what may be called "the United States of Malacca."

It is necessary to call Sir Andrew Clarke by the great name of "The Pacificator," to distinguish him from his great contemporary, the physician to the queen.

The English government has on hand a very interesting bit of administration, which, on a small scale, illustrates admirably the value of a permanent tribunal to adjust differences between States.

It consists in the confederacy formed within the last fifteen years among the chiefs of the small native States of the peninsula of Malacca.

As early as 1819, at the instance of Sir Stanford Raffles, the Indian government had established the English colony of Singapore. England had three very small dependencies in the neighborhood,—Penang, the Dindings, Malacca, so called; and these came to be known as the Straits Settlements. The rest of the peninsula was held by a great number of petty tribes, constantly at war, and under no control but that of force from powers whose commerce they interrupted. The home government of England seems to have been very unwilling to attempt any control of these States. And until 1874, when at last it interfered with their foreign relations, the people were, to all intents and purposes, living in the Middle Ages; for each State had its own sultan under a complete feudal system.

Their wars with each other brought about a complete anarchy. "Up to the year 1874," writes Mr. Swettenham, "all these countries excepting Johor and Penang had been in a very unhappy state." Perak was torn by intestine troubles. Larut was fast becoming a stronghold of pirates. The leaders of this strife, taking a base in the English settlement of Penang, sent orders and supplies to the fighters, "while they were in comparative safety." It was said that in one day three thousand men were killed in one of these disturbances in Larut.

Selangor was even worse, if such a thing were possible. And in all these "States" the feudal lords fought against each other, without any intervention of the respective "sultans." All these disturbances were overwhelming the sultans with debt, however. Without attempting the least detail, it is enough to say that, excepting Johor and Penang, all of them were at war; and they were so jealous of each other that their condition was scarcely better.

Under these conditions, Sir Andrew Clarke, the British governor of the Straits Settlements, met the principal Chinese of Penang and of Larut in January, 1874. By treating both factions equally, he effected a reconciliation, which stopped at once all piracy by sea, and made a step toward further mediation.

Every one knew that the home government did not wish any more territory, and would not assume any. But, at the solicitation of the Malay chiefs themselves, Sir Andrew Clarke sent "residents" to the chief settlements, "to teach them to govern the country." They agreed to leave all foreign relations to the English governor of Singapore. They paid the expenses of the residents, but all the revenues beside were in the hands of the sultans and chiefs.

Of this whole history the interesting detail is given in the papers submitted to the Senate with the treaty. It is perhaps a pity that, in the midst of discussions about borax and salicylic acid, this interesting contribution to the history of peace should have been generally overlooked or disregarded. Simply, it is the story of the union in one confederacy of nearly twenty different feudal States, each with its wretched sultan, who were wasting all their resources on mutual wars. If the sultans themselves did not fight, the fighting was done by the lesser chiefs, who correspond precisely in this feudal system with the barons of Europe in the Middle Ages. Sir Andrew Clarke was the governor of Singapore and the Straits Settlements. By personal visits to these feudal chiefs, he made them understand that England did not want an inch of their territory or a penny of their revenue. A first step was taken in a sort of union of what were known as the "Nine States." One by one the sultans of the larger States agreed to abandon maritime piracy, and to submit their mutual disputes, not to feudal battles, but to the arbitrament of the English authorities at Singapore.

Those authorities, on the other hand, were ready enough to agree that they would not take either revenue or land from the chiefs, nor interfere with their government, unless they asked for "residents." Many of them, as has been said, did ask for such residents.

This simple system has now been running for ten years with perfect success. The result is that the sultans are now rich where they were poor. What is more, their people are rich where they were poor, and happy where they were wretched. For many tropical products the peninsula is the richest country that God's sun shines upon. The value and quantity of its products have increased enormously since "The Pacificator" took hold of his great enterprise. The intelligent reader who may wish to follow the details of this great enterprise will find them in the Senate report alluded to, in the English Blue Books, in the Proceedings of the Singapore Branch of the Asiatic Society, and in some references in the correspondence of the American Board of Commissioners.

EDWARD E. HALE.

PLANS FOR PEACE.

The United States and Great Britain will stand together in the advocacy of the adoption of a scheme for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration which will be presented to the disarmament Conference at its meeting in The Hague on May 18.

The American delegates, headed by Ambassador White, are equipped with a fairly well digested plan for the execution of this long-cherished project, while the British delegates are prepared with a plan which is almost identical with the American project.

The details cannot be procured for publication in advance of the presentation of the projects to the conference. It is known, however, that there are essential differences between this last plan and that embodied in the treaty drafted by Sec'y Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, which failed of action in the senate when submitted for ratification.

The differences are rather in the methods provided for securing an impartial adjudication than in the principles of the formal convention, and it is believed that on these points the British and American propositions are not precisely similar.

It cannot be said that the American delegates go to the Conference with any strong expectation that their own scheme for securing the adjustment of disputes by arbitration, or, indeed, any project of the kind, will secure the adhesion of the entire Conference or even a majority of the delegates.

But they are content to plant the seed and make a beginning which it is hoped by the President and Sec'y Hay will in the end have substantial results.

The American delegates go committed to this arbitration project much more strongly than anything likely to figure before the Conference.

Regarding disarmament, their instructions are to tell the Conference that the present armament of the United States and any within the possibilities of the future are so far below the present minimum armaments with which any of the great powers of Europe are likely to be content that there is really no reason why the United States should be called into the agreement.

Other points upon which the delegates have been instructed are the exemption from seizure of individual property and the extension of the Red Cross rules to warlike operations at sea.

As to the former, the President expressed himself very strongly in his last message to congress, and the delegates go charged to give practical effect to these views. As to the Red Cross extension, both the United States and Spain during the recent war voluntarily agreed to apply the Red Cross rules at sea.

Another point in the instructions is that relating to the amelioration of the horrors of war, and with this, too, the American delegates are deeply concerned. It was because of the President's interest in this subject as much as for any other reason that the two technical experts, Capt. Mahan and Capt. Crozier, were included in the American delegation, and the state department hopes that something in this direction will be accomplished at the approaching Conference. — *Boston Advertiser.*

ARBITRATION VS. DISARMAMENT.

The New York State Bar Association has prepared a memorial to the Czar bearing upon the propositions to be discussed at the international Peace Conference. The memorial, having passed under the inspection of the state department at Washington, has been placed in the hands of the Russian ambassador for transmission to the Czar. It closes with these words:

The brotherhood of the legal profession of the state of New York feels that the action of your imperial majesty is a long step toward the fulfillment of this great purpose among the civilized powers of the world, and it extends to your imperial majesty its

unmeasured congratulations upon the happy circumstance that has made your imperial majesty the instrument, in the hands of Divine Providence, for the inauguration of so propitious and so grand a movement as is embraced in the conference of the nations on subjects of peaceful import. The association also ventures earnestly to solicit your imperial majesty's powerful influence and active co-operation at the coming congress in seeking the early organization of an international court that may eventually hold jurisdiction over matters of international importance and thereby secure the happy consummation of all the worthy aspirations of your imperial majesty in calling for conference the Christian powers of the world. In holiday attire, with arms stacked, the battalions of the nations already mark time to the music of a new song, yet old as the Christian centuries, that your imperial majesty has renewed in the hearts of the people of all nations: "On earth, peace, good will toward men."

With assurances of high regard and distinguished consideration, personally and on behalf of the membership of the Bar Association of the State of New York, we cordially subscribe ourselves, your imperial majesty's

Very obedient servants,

WILLIAM MARTIN JONES,
WILLIAM D. VEEDER,
EDWARD G. WHITAKER,
Committee of the New York State Bar Association.

Attested in behalf of the New York State Bar Association, at the capitol in the city of Albany, N. Y., April 24, 1899.

WALTER S. LOGAN, President.
FRED'K E. WADHAMS, Secretary.

Do not say that international arbitration and universal federation are impossible. Remember that times have changed. Reforms do not creep along now like a sick man walking in his sleep; they go by leaps and bounds. MARY A LIVERMORE.

THE TREMONT TEMPLE MEETINGS.

The series of meetings in Tremont Temple, inaugurated by the Good Citizenship Society, closed on Tuesday, May 9, with a meeting under the immediate direction of the Massachusetts Women's Christian Temperance Union. Mrs. Katharine Lente Stevenson, the president of the state organization, conducted the meeting, and in opening the speaker called attention to the fact that a department of Peace and Arbitration had long been one of the regular departments of the work of the Union. It was established not only because army life often fastens the habit of intemperance upon men who have never known it before, but because the Union is the foe of everything which endangers righteousness and the home, and is so bound to do all in its power for peace and the brotherhood of nations.

Rev. Dr. McIlvaine was the next speaker, and spoke of peace as the necessary outcome of Christianity. He quoted the phrase of Victor Hugo that the day would come when cannons and bayonets would be preserved in museums as curious relics of the past. Some regard war, said he, as a school for the wholesome development of moral qualities; but those who are attempting to revive this old war spirit by new devices are not looking forward but looking backward.

Mrs. J. K. Barney, the round-the-world missionary of the W. C. T. U., spoke of the sisterhood of nations which is growing up over the world, and illustrated her remarks by some pathetic experiences of her missionary journeys. She told how the rejoicing in England last autumn over the victory in the Soudan turned to the nobler enthusiasm in which a million pounds was subscribed to found schools and colleges in that country, to give to the conquered people a truer idea of the civilization of the conquerors. The Czar, in his call for a Peace Conference, has voiced the wish of all the nations; if we mean what we have been praying: "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done," we have no choice

but to do our best now. And if this conference fails, it will be largely due to the lack of enthusiasm and combined effort on the part of England and America.

Rev. Everett D. Burr of the Ruggles street Baptist Church said that the great contribution made by Christianity to sociology is the figure of the body: we are members one of another, and if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it. We are finding this true in municipal affairs, in national affairs, and more and more we are finding it true in international affairs. There are now no foreign lands; India's wheat-crop affects Dakota's farmer, and speculation in South Africa influences our commercial centres. We must understand that not only is the state an organism, the nation an organism, but that mankind is one body. The word "mankind" never passed the lips of Plato; where the Greek saw barbarians we see brothers; where they saw the nations, we see mankind.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore spoke a few words at the close of the meeting.

A meeting was held on the afternoon of the same day at the parlors of the Woman's Journal in Park street. Mrs. Livermore presided, and addresses were made by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt, and Rev. Samuel Richard Fuller.

The list of Peace meetings made up from reports received at this office shows more than twenty in the limits of Boston since the year began.

NOTES OF THE CRUSADE.

Since the issue of our last number, we have received reports of peace meetings in Toledo, Ohio, Moncton, N. B., and Birmingham, Ala. Two meetings have been held in Providence, one at the Bell Street Chapel, and the other under the direction of the Women's Council of Rhode Island. The Society of Friends invited Rev. Lyman Abbott to address them in the Friends' Meeting House in Rutherford Place in New York City, on the 29th of April, and at this meeting the following resolution was adopted:

We hail with much satisfaction the International Conference to be held at The Hague next month, at the invitation of the Czar of Russia, to promote disarmament and international arbitration, and are much gratified that by appointment of the President of the United States our own country is to be ably represented at the conference, and we hereby express earnestly the hope that much may be accomplished by it to discourage destructive war and preparations therefor, and also to inaugurate a permanent tribunal of international arbitration for the peaceful adjustment of international differences.

Dr. Abbott said in part:

I consider the propositions of the Czar wise and statesmanlike. Many of us think that many wars could have been avoided if the two disputing nations had submitted their differences to arbitration. I myself think that war cannot always be avoided, but I also think that, with the exception of intemperance only, war is the greatest curse to humanity. In war the tiger in man is let loose; intemperance the hog is let loose.

War creates splendid opportunities for the display of courage. But, mark you, there is glory in war and glory of war. Permit me to explain myself. There is glory in war when courageous acts are done; there is glory of war when war is averted. We all admire the courage of nurses when they brave the dangers of the pestilence to save lives, but who would contribute to the opportunity for the display of such courage?

I hope out of the Disarmament Conference shall grow a desire to settle international differences, not by brute force, but by reason; that it shall lead to the establishment of a permanent supreme court of the nations of the world.

A meeting was held at the new Century Drawing Room on Thursday evening, 11th instant, in favor of International Arbitration

under the auspices of the Philadelphia Committee formed to arouse public sentiment in favor of The Hague Conference. Judge William N. Ashman presided, and addresses were made by Rev. George Dana Boardman, LL. D., Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, D. D., Rector of Holy Trinity Church, and Mr. Herbert Welsh, editor of *City and State*. We shall print a full account of this meeting in our next issue.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs Mary A. Livermore, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Miss O. M. E. Rowe, Mrs. Henry D. Forbes, and other prominent club women have sent out a letter to the clubs and other organizations, requesting the co-operation of the clubs in a campaign of education throughout the country during the next year, which shall aim directly to affect the action of Congress to the end that it will at once establish some kind of arbitration treaties with all friendly nations.

M. BEERNAERT.

The representative of Belgium at The Hague Conference is well-known to friends of Peace throughout Europe as one who has always taken a strong, keen, and intelligent interest in the work of advocacy of international arbitration. He is President of the Chamber of Deputies at Brussels, and sits as Catholic representative of the district of Thielt. He will be one of the oldest members of the Conference, as he was born in 1823. The following notes have been drawn up by a high authority in Belgium, and will be read with interest :—

M. Beernaert, after intermediate private studies, attended the University of Louvain, where, when scarcely twenty years of age, he obtained the degree of Doctor of Law with brilliant distinction. He completed his studies at Paris, Berlin and Heidelberg, and was admitted as a barrister of the Court of Brussels in 1853. In 1874, M. Beernaert was elected member for the district of Thielt, and up to the present he has always been re-elected without interruption. Appointed by the King to the management of the department of Public Works 1873, he kept this office till 1878, when the elections returned a majority of Liberals. In 1884, when the elections resulted in a considerable majority for the Catholics, M. Beernaert became Minister of Finance and head of the Government, which office he retained till 1894. On January 30, 1895, he was nominated President of the Chamber. He was one of the assistants of Leopold II in the work of civilization undertaken on the Congo. It is to M. Beernaert that Belguim owes the forts of the Meuse, and it is also to him that she owes those social laws, both wise and moderate, which have opened the way to a general plan of reform. As an instance, we will only quote the law on the cheap dwellings for working men, and the law relating to the absolute right of the workman to his wages, the abolition of the truck system, the law on the work of women and children. A revision of the constitution was the principal work accomplished by M. Beernaert during the period 1884–1894.

THIS OFFICE OFFERS FOR SALE:

The Federation of the World. By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D., 75 c.

Diplomacy, Arbitration, and the Permanent Tribunal. By Edward E. Hale, 3 c. each; $2.00 per hundred.

A Permanent Tribunal. By Edward E. Hale. 3 c. each; $2.00 per hundred.

Organize the World! By Edwin D. Mead. $1.50 per hundred; $10.00 per thousand.

Hymns for the Peace Crusade. $1.00 per hundred; $7.00 per thousand.

The Czar's Manifesto. $2.00 per thousand

William Penn's Plan for the Peace of Europe. 5 c.

Disarmament of Nations, or Mankind One Body. By Geo. Dana Boardman, $16.00 per thousand.

THE PEACE CRUSADE.

The Peace Crusade.

THE PEACE CRUSADE RECORD WILL CONTAIN THE LATEST INFORMATION ACCESSIBLE REGARDING THE MOVEMENT OF NATIONS FOR PERMANENT PEACE.

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This sheet, which we have entitled "The Peace Crusade," will be published once a fortnight at the office of the LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 1 Beacon St., Boston. The publication will continue until the close of the conference proposed by the Emperor of Russia. The price of subscription will be placed at twenty-five cents for the series. We invite clubs, alliances and peace societies to subscribe for one hundred copies each. For one hundred such subscriptions the price will be $15.00.

PEACE CRUSADE COMMITTEE.

Edward E. Hale, *Chairman.*
Edwin D. Mead
Charles Fleischer
Charles F. Dole
Frank O. Hall
Charles G. Ames
Lucia Ames Mead
Fred Hovey Allen
Dudley R. Child
Roger E. Tileston

As the reader of this number of the *Crusade* will see, the early days of the great meeting at The Hague were most auspicious. If any one of the editors of this paper could himself have written the press despatches which recorded the history of those days, he could not have invented a beginning of the conference more to our wish, nor one which expressed more completely the hopes of a waiting world. In this matter people of serious purpose and statesmen who have had long experience in diplomacy are at one. Lord Salisbury's letters might have been read from the pulpit of the First Congregational Church in Columbus, or the Reverend Dr. Gladden might have written Lord Salisbury's letters. Certainly, there is a rebuke to the Philistines of the world, to those who call themselves the practical men of the world, in this new evidence that the idealists understand the position quite as well as they do. If some of them should learn what is the substance and what is the shadow in our modern life, it will not hurt them. It has proved that the friends of peace are neither poets swinging on rainbows nor fools chattering in jargon. It has proved that men to whom the providence of God has entrusted the care of nations have some sense of the dignity of their position, that they have read history, and have forcasted the future.

Before another number of the CRUSADE is published, it may be that very important developments will come before the world from The Hague, such as no man now would pretend to forecast or to foretell. Writing in the last week of May, we have no right to say more than to repeat what we have said before, namely, that good must come where seventy or eighty conscientious and wise statesmen meet together for so great a purpose as has summoned the conference. There is no harm in saying again that absolute unanimity is not to be expected among twenty-four states, representing different religious, different political forms, with va-

rious histories and various expectations. But, considering the broken condition of civilization at this moment; that in the condition of statesmanship to-day, the hand of every state is raised against its brethren and that every nation does what is right in its own eyes, there will be a gain if only three nations, say England, the United States, and Switzerland,—shall unite in some method for establishing a Permanent Tribunal.

E. E. H.

AMERICA'S CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION.

The first and principal contribution is the advance made in the United States, not in theory only, but in practice, toward the abandonment of war as the means of settling disputes between nations, the substitution of discussion and arbitration, and the avoidance of armaments. If the intermittent Indian fighting and the brief contest with the Barbary corsairs be disregarded, the United States have had only four years and a quarter of international war in the one hundred and seven years since the adoption of the Constitution. Within the the same period the United States have been a party to forty-seven arbitrations, being more than half of all that have taken place in the modern world. The questions settled by these arbitrations have been just such as have commonly caused wars, namely, questions of boundaries, fisheries, damages inflicted by war or civil disturbances, and injuries to commerce. Some of them were of great magnitude, the four made under the treaty of Washington (8 May, 1871) being the most important that have ever taken place. Confident in their strength, and relying on their ability to adjust international differences, the United States have habitually maintained, by voluntary enlistment for short terms, a standing army and a fleet which in proportion to the population are insignificant.

The beneficent effects of this American contribution to civilization are of two sorts: in the first place, the direct evils of war and of preparations for war have been diminished; and secondly, the influence of the war spirit on the perennial conflict between the rights of the single personal unit and the powers of the multitude that constitute organized society—or, in other words, between individual freedom and collective authority—has been reduced to lowest terms. War has been, and still is, the school of collectivism, the warrant of tyranny. Century after century, tribes, clans, and nations have sacrificed the liberty of the individual to the fundamental necessity of being strong for combined defense or attack in war. Individual freedom is crushed in war, for the nature of war is inevitably despotic. It says to the private person: "Obey without a question, even unto death; die in this ditch, without knowing why; walk into that deadly thicket; mount this embankment, behind which are men who will try to kill you lest you should kill them; make part of an immense machine for blind destruction, cruelty, rapine, and killing." At this moment, every young man in continental Europe learns the lesson of absolute military obedience, and feels himself subject to this crushing powet of militant society, against which no rights of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness avail anything. This pernicious influence, inherent in the social organization of all continental Europe during many centuries, the American people have for generations escaped, and they show other nations how to escape it. I ask attention to the favorable conditions under which this contribution of the United States to civilization has been made. CHAS. W. ELIOT.

VIRGINIA'S ACTION.

The international arbitration committee of the Virginia State Bar Association has addressed a letter to our delegates to the Peace Conference, and another to President McKinley in favor of international arbitration, which it considers will be the practical result of the Conference, and which will eventually lead to disarmament.

BARON DE STAAL'S ADDRESS.

The text of Baron de Staal's address, in opening the Conference, is thus rendered in the telegraphic despatch. We shall not receive the text in the French language until after these lines go to press:

"To seek the best means of securing the benefits of peace to all nations is, according to the circular of August 17, the principal object of our deliberations. The name of peace conference, which, by instinct, was given in advance of the decision of the governments to our assembly, indicates in the best way the essential aim of our work. Therefore the conference cannot fail to fulfill the task assigned to it and to secure tangible results for humanity. The great willingness with which all countries accepted the invitation to partake in the conference is most eloquent proof of the unanimity with which pacific proposals were received. It is a most agreeable pleasure to me to express to the delegates the thanks of the Russian Government.

"The composition of this meeting is a great guarantee of the spirit with which it will fulfill its mission. It will be a vast gain to the world if diplomacy succeeds in establishing here some rules for the peaceful solution of international disputes, to generalize, to codify the application of arbitration and mediation. It seems to be the essential purpose of our efforts to prevent conflicts by pacific means. It is not our mission to attempt to reach Utopia. We must reckon with what is possible in the work we are going to do, and must not pursue abstractions. Without sacrificing our ultimate hopes, we must keep on the ground of reality, so as to get a solid foundation and a fixed basis.

"No nation can remain isolated even if so desired. Of course there are rivalries, but only on economical grounds. The different nations seek only to bring the over-production which they cannot consume to other markets. These rivalries are salutary, because they lead to a spirit of human fraternity. If the nations are bound by so many ties, why not study the effects toward which they are tending? When there are disputes between two nations the others cannot be indifferent, because all are affected. Then acts of conciliation should come in. These are old maxims which are always recognized by statesmen and thinkers, but they impose themselves now more than ever, and the fact that they may be proclaimed by such an assembly as this would certainly be of prime importance in the history of humanity.

"The nations have great need of peace, and we owe it to humanity and the governments which have given us their confidence to protect our interests, and it is due to ourselves to accomplish a useful work in settling upon some means of insuring peace.

"Among these means are arbitration and mediation. These have been practised for a long time by diplomacy, but they have not been precisely established, and their employment in cases in which they should be applied has not been defined. It is our duty to do this, sustained by the conviction that we labor for the welfare of humanity and in the direction which was pointed out by preceding generations. But as we are firmly resolved not to attempt Utopia, and as we recognize that our present task, however grand, has its limits, we must also occupy ourselves with another phase of the situation. Inasmuch as it is not yet possible to render armed conflicts between nations impossible we must minimize the horrors of such conflicts. The governments of the civilized States have already taken great steps in that direction, but we want to go further; and the most competent men for the solution of these questions are here.

"Besides other matters of high importance which also enter into the idea of the maintenance of peace, and which the Russian Government thinks might be included in our deliberations, there are reasons to ask if the welfare of nations does not demand the limitation of progressive armaments. But it is

for the Governments to decide in the interest of their respective countries what action to take in this direction. We are sure that we are going to examine these questions in an earnest spirit of sincere conciliation and so walk in the ways which lead to the consummation of peace. Thus we shall do a useful work, for which future generations will be grateful to the sovereigns and the chiefs of the States represented in this hall."

THE CONFERENCE.

It will be convenient to our readers to have at hand a short daily calendar of the proceedings at The Hague, so far as they are made known. With entire propriety, the proceedings are not made public in detail. This fact alone shows that the Conference means business.

The number of delegates is unofficially stated as one hundred and twenty. We have no list, at this writing of more than sixty-nine from twenty-four States. The names of these gentlemen are printed in another column.

The Hague, May 19, 1899. The chiefs of the different delegations to the peace conference met to-day under the presidency of the president of the conference, M. de Staal, the Russian ambassador to Great Britain, for the purpose of discussing the business to be transacted to-morrow.

The meeting, at which Mr. Andrew D. White, head of the United States delegation, and Sir Julian Pauncefote, head of the British delegation, were present, resulted in an agreement to appoint three committees to deal with the respective groups of questions proposed for discussion, namely, disarmament, laws of warfare, and mediation and arbitration.

With a view of facilitating the appointment of the committees, it was agreed that each chief delegate should nominate those of his own delegation whom it might be desired to appoint to the respective committees, so that each nation should be represented upon all. Probably the committees will meet next Tuesday or Wednesday to organize and to arrange the procedure.

The opinion of a majority of the delegates seems to be that the general scheme to be presented to the conference to-morrow has been conceived in a broad and liberal spirit; and the result of this morning's meeting of the delegation chiefs is regarded as demonstrating the good will and conciliatoriness of all the delegates, as well as a common desire to facilitate the labors of the conference.

The Second Session, May 20.—The second sitting of the peace conference lasted thirty-five minutes. The president, Baron de Staal, read the replies of the Czar and Queen Wilhelmina to the telegrams sent to them by the conference on Thursday.

The proceedings were confined to the appointment of three general committees and the delivery of an address by the president, M. de Staal, on the work of the conference. The committees formed to-day will meet on Tuesday. There will be no full session of the conference until it is summoned by the president.

The American members of the committee are: Disarmament, Ambassador White and Capts. Mahan and Crozier; laws of war, Mr. White, Capts. Mahan and Crozier and Minister Newel; arbitration and mediation, White, Low and Holls.

May 21, Sunday. There was no session of the Conference.

Dean O'Foley's sermon at the English church to-day was attended by the chief Anglo-Saxon delegates.

It took the form of a brilliant discourse upon the development of the principles of international arbitration, based upon the text "And your old men shall see visions and your young men shall dream dreams," the old men being typified by Gladstone, whose efforts led up to the Geneva convention.

THE HAGUE, MAY 21.—PEACE DELEGATES' SUNDAY.— Belgian, Dutch and Swiss Delegates discuss plan for united action.—The Belgian, Dutch and Swiss delegates to the disarmament conference held a meeting today to consider the question of taking united action, especially with reference to all matters particularly affecting the minor powers. They will probably agree upon some form of co-operation.

MAY 22.— After an active exchange of views in the last twenty-four hours, the chiefs of the various delegations arrived this evening at an agreement regarding the selection of the presidents of the various committees. This agreement will be communicated to the delegates, who have been summoned to meet in plenary session in the Huis Ten Bosch at noon to-morrow, for the purpose of formally confirming the agreement.

MAY 24, Tuesday.—The Peace Congress had no session. The chiefs of the various delegations were presented to Queen Wilhelmina this afternoon. M. de Staal, the President of the conference, had a special audience with her Majesty, at which he invested her with the Order of St. Catherine. The Czar sent the insignia of the order set with magnificent diamonds, and this the Queen wore to-night at a great reception, which was attended by all the delegates and the ladies of the diplomatic corps. There were five hundred persons present, making the reception one of the most brilliant social events that ever occurred at The Hague.

MAY 26.—The disarmament committee met this morning and M. Bernaert, chief of the Belgian delegation, who presided, set forth the points submitted for consideration. The two sections immediately divided and proceeded to a discussion of the question of firearms and explosives, which continued until the hour for adjournment.

The arbitration committee met this afternoon, under the presidency of the chief of the French delegation, M. Leon Bourgeois, who was flanked by the honorary presidents of the committee, Sir Julian Pauncefote, chief of the British delegation, and Count Nigra, chief of the Italian delegation.

M. Bourgeois presented the questions of mediation and arbitration and suggested a programme the committee might follow, urging recourse to all pacific means before war. He admitted a long list of possible subjects of dispute which might arise between nations and yet might find solution in arbitration, closing with the more difficult problems. He then presented a scheme of forty articles already introduced to the full conference by a Russian delegate. The statement of M. Bourgeois was clear and concise, commanding the closest attention.

Sir Julian Pauncefote proposed that the committee should immediately proceed, before all else, to consider the question of a permanent tribunal of arbitration. He did not, however, submit any plan, and eventually withdrew his motion, in view of the suggestions offered by Count Nigra and others, who urged the wisdom of following the programme of the president, in which the question of a permanent tribunal follows the general subject of arbitration.

Recognizing that the committee was too large to consider the Russian proposals, M. Bourgeois appointed the following sub-committee: Chevalier Descamps David of the Belgian delegation, Prof. Asser, privy councillor of the Netherlands delegation; Baron Estournelles de Constant of the French delegation, Mr. Frederick Holls, secretary of the United States delegation; M. Lammasch of the Austro-Hungarian delegation, Prof. Maartens of the Russian delegation, M. E. Odier of the Swiss delegation, and Dr. Zorn of the University of Konigsberg, representing the German delegation. Sir Julian Pauncefote and Count Nigra were appointed honorary presidents of the sub-committee, while M. Bourgeois and M. de Staal were empowered to attend meetings.

This arrangement gives a representation

to all the great powers as well as to Holland. Belgium and Switzerland. Chevalier Descamps David was appointed chairman of the sub-committee.

THE DELEGATES AT THE HAGUE.

Austria-Hungary — Count von Weisersheimb, first secretary of the Austrian foreign office, ambassador extraordinary; his excellency M. Okoliosanyo Okalicona, minister at the court of The Hague; Court and Ministerial Councillor Meroy.

Belgium— M. Beernaert, ex-minister of foreign affairs; Chevalier Descamp-David, senator, and Count de Grelle-Rogiar, minister at The Hague.

China—His Excellency Yang Yu, minister at the court of St. Petersburg.

Denmark—His Excellency Fr. E. de Bille, minister at the Court of St James; Colonel Van Schnack, ex-minister of war.

France — M. Bourgeois, ex-premier; his excellency M. Bihourd, minister at The Hague; Baron Estournelles de Constant, deputy; Vice Admiral Pephan, Brigadier General Monnier, Louis Renault, professor of law.

Germany—Count von Munster-Ladenburg ambassador at Paris; Professor von Stengel of the Munich University; Professor Zorn of the University of Konigsberg; Captain Siegel, naval attaché at the German embassy in Paris, and Colonel Gross von Schwarzoff, commanding the Ninety-Fourth Regiment of Infantry.

Great Britain—Rt. Hon. Sir Julian Pauncefote, G. C. B., British ambassador at Washington; Sir Henry Howard, K. C. M. G., minister at The Hague; Vice Admiral Sir John Fisher, K. C. B., and Major General Sir John Ardagh, K. C. I. E.

Holland—A. P. C. van Karnebock, D. L., ex-minster of foreign affairs and deputy; Major General den Beer Poortugael, privy councillor, ex-war minister; and Professor Asser, privy councillor, and M. E. N. Rahusen, member of the upper House, two authorities on international law.

Italy—Count Nigra, minister at the court of Vienna; Count Zernini, minister at The Hague; General Zuccari and Captain Bianca of the navy.

Japan — Baron Hayashi, minister at the court of St. Petersburg; Colonel Uyehara, Captain Sakomoto of the navy, and his excellency J. Monoto, ambassador at Brussels.

Norway and Sweden—Baron Bildt, minister at the Court of Rome.

Persia—General Mirza Riza-Khan, minister at the Court of St. Petersburg.

Portugal—Count de Macedo, minister at Madrid; Angostino d'Ornellas, minister at St. Petersburg, and Count de Selir, minister at the Hague.

Roumania—His Excellency M. Al. Beldiman, ambassador at the Court of Berlin; his grace M. T. Papinin, minister at The Hague, and Colonel C. Coanda.

Russia—Baron de Staal, Russian ambassador at the Court of St. James; Colonel Jilinsky, Colonel Count Barantzoff, Captain Scheine of the navy, Lieutenant Outchinnekoff of the navy, and Professor de Martens, a well-known authority on international law.

Servia—M. Myatovich, minister in London.

Siam—His excellency Phya Suriya, Dr. Ch. Corragioni d'Orelli and M. E. Rolin, consul general in Belgium.

Spain—Duke de Tetuan, His Excellency M. de Villa Urrutia, ambassador at Brussels; His Excellency M. de Bageur, minister at The Hague.

Switzerland—Dr. S. Roth, minister at the court of Berlin; Colonel A. Kuzli and M. E. Odior, both members of the National Council.

Turkey—Turkhan Pasha, privy chancellor; Nourey Bey, secretary general of the foreign office; Abdulla Pasha, lieutenant general, and Rear Admiral Mehemed Pusha.

United States— Seth Low, president of Columbia University; Andrew D. White, ambassador at Berlin; Stanford Newell, minister at The Hague; Captain Crozier of the ordnance department of the army; Cap- A. T. Mahan of the navy (retired), and Frederick Holls, as secretary.

A WAR CORRESPONDENT ON WAR.

The young men of this country know little or nothing of war. It presents itself to their minds, perhaps, as a sort of foot race contest on a large scale, in which there is a good deal of excitement, some risk, and plenty of glory, with a prospect of appearing conspicuously in the pages of the illustrated magazines.

At this time we may all read with profit the views of one, who is no rough rider of three months' experience, but a veteran observer and chronicler of the terrible days before Sebastopol, of the life and death struggle of the Sepoy mutiny, and of the early days of our own civil war, Sir William Howard Russell, the famous war correspondent of the London times. In answer to an invitation to be present at a meeting at Westminster Town Hall in furtherance of the objects of the Peace Conference, he wrote:

"I am entirely in sympathy with those who desire that the proposals of the Emperor of Russia to convene a Peace Conference should be received with the utmost favor by the people of this country, and I would gladly attend the meeting to which you are good enough to invite me if I could venture out at present.

"It is just because I have seen so much of the unutterable misery and desolation caused by war in the nine campaigns in which it has been my lot to be a camp follower that I would, with all my heart and soul, pray that the terrible temptation to settle quarrels by the arbitration of the sword, which is afforded by the great armies of the conscription, should be resisted and overcome, that I conceive it to be my duty to welcome with gratitude the blessed summons from the North to the Christian nations of Europe to consider the beneficent designs of the Tsar for the the abatement of bloated armaments, and that I hold it to be especially the obligation of the people of these islands, who are unvexed by the universal necessity of following the drum and who can, with a tolerably good conscience, aid in emancipating their fellows on the continent from the burden of military service, to do all they can by the expression of their opinion to promote the success of the Peace Conference.

"We cannot be accused of sinister designs or secret purposes, for our army is not large enough for its obvious responsibilities, and it would not be an unwelcome result to the Government, whoever they may be, if the Conference eases the pressure on the national purse caused by our constant outlay on the navy which is occasioned by the rivalry in shipbuilding of possible enemies, and if it was greatly reduced by the mutual adjustment of values for the navies of the world when it can be shown to be feasible and safe."

NOTES OF THE CRUSADE.

The International Council of Women reports sixty-eight meetings held on May 15th, at which more than twenty-seven thousand women were present, representing societies which aggregate nearly one hundred thousand members. At each of these meetings the following resolutions were adopted; and were telegraphed to similar bodies in Europe:

"We, the women of the United States, extend to the women of ——, sympathetic and affectionate greetings. We feel profoundly grateful that the women of the world have been aroused to the need of international relationship through their desire to support the initiative made by His Majesty the Czar of Russia in behalf of gradual disarmament.

"We of the United States regard gradual disarmament, the object for which the Conference at The Hague is convened, as the first step in a perhaps long but straight path which humanity is destined to walk, and which leads undeniably to the goal of universal peace maintained by universal obedience to the decisions of a permanent Court of Arbitration.

"This initiative seems to us, in view of the possibilities which it enfolds, a sublime

movement. We are profoundly grateful that we are summoned to participate in the world-wide demonstration in behalf of the object toward which the Czar's rescript inevitably tends.

"We hope the demonstration beginning on May 15th, far from ceasing with that date, will continue throughout the weeks that the Congress is in session. By this means the echoes of our meetings must be sustained until they reach the ears of the representatives of the nations convened to consider that gradual disarmament which means ultimate total disarmament; which also means the application of the Golden Rule to national life.

"Hoping that the women of your country may respond to the appeal made through you by the Central Committee, I remain

"Very sincerely yours,

"MAY WRIGHT SEWALL,

"Chairman of the American Branch of the International Committee."

MR. WHITE'S STATEMENT.

On the 22d of May, Mr. Andrew White, the head of the American delegation, gave this expression of opinion to the press:

"The words of Emperor William have contributed to improve the situation. I think we may arrive at some result on the subject of mediation and arbitration. Although it is undoubtedly impossible to make such action obligatory, it can be rendered at least optional, and I believe that after the conference the powers will recognize that they have at their disposal a means of regulating their differences otherwise than by war. That will be an immense advance.

"I am also confident that important improvements are achievable in the laws and usages of war, to humanize war, especially in extending to naval battles the Geneva convention of 1864 and in increasing the protection of private property in naval wars.

"Relative to the reduction of armaments I am not in a position to speak."

A correspondent at the Hague, who seems to be well informed, says:

When the members of the arbitration section had finished reading the Russian proposals on the subject, Sir Julian expressed his complete approval of them, but said it would be a great pity if the Conference failed to embody the principle of arbitration in some permament shape.

"I now beg to propose," he said, "the formal establishment of a permanent arbitration tribunal, empowered to deal with all matters in dispute capable of reference to the judgment of an umpire. I do not intend to trouble you with details as to its mechanism today, nor until you accept the principle of my proposal. Therefore, I ask you to accept the principle now." M. de Staal at once declared: "Sir Julian Pauncefote having presented his proposal, we are prepared to supplement and to complete the printed suggestions just distributed by others, dealing with a permanent arbitration board."

Thereupon the Russian president of the Conference drew a paper from his pocket and laid it upon the table. The paper contained the foundation of a Permanent Tribunal.

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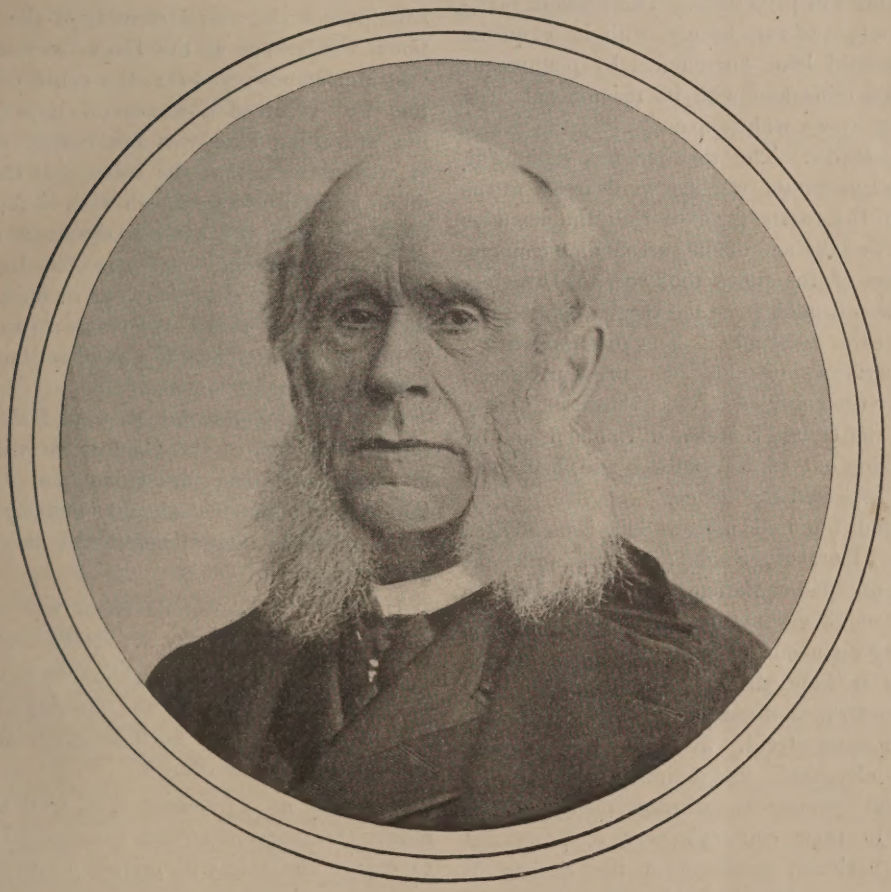
THE PEACE CRUSADE.



BARON DE STAAL,
President of the Peace Conference.

By the courtesy of the New York *Outlook*, we are able to reproduce the admirable portrait of Baron de Staal, which appeared first in the number of that journal on the first of the month.

It is one of the happiest auspices of this GREAT CONGRESS that this distinguished statesman should preside over its deliberations. With all loyalty to his own sovereign, and a perfect knowledge of his own people, he has formed so wide an acquaintance with the leaders of Western Europe and America that he fairly represents the whole civilized world.

THE CONFERENCE AT LAKE MOHONK.

The fifth Annual Conference on International Arbitration has come and gone; and those who were so fortunate as to be present at its sessions may well look back to the occasion as one of the most inspiring and delightful of memories. Everything was propitious. The place of meeting was a spot of rare beauty, with its exquisite little emerald lake, surrounded by picturesque precipitous cliffs, and with its magnificent view extending over a wide expanse of fertile plains to the Catskills. The weather was delightful. Boats and mountain wagons were freely at the service of the guests, for exploring the beauties of the little lake and of the surrounding country. The signs of the times, too, were encouraging. The reports coming from the Hague were almost unexpectedly favorable. The disappointment and uncertainty of the two previous years, caused by the rejection of the Arbitration Treaty between the United States and England, and by the breaking out of war with Spain, had given place to hope and confidence.

Over four hundred persons had been invited by Mr. Albert K. Smiley, the philanthropic founder of the conferences, to attend these meetings as his guests, the wives of all the members being included in the invitation.

About one hundred and sixty are said to have been present, men of many callings and opinions, and from many places. Judges and members of the bar, clergymen and editors, college presidents and professors, distinguished generals maimed in their country's service, prominent men of business, members of the Society of Friends, men who still believed in war and absolute peace men, anti-imperialists and supporters of the Philippine war, — all met at Lake Mohonk, united, hopeful and enthusiastic in the cause of International Arbitration.

The Business Committee, with sound judgment, adopted a rule, at the very beginning, excluding absolutely any discussion of the present policy of the administration; and thereby prevented a controversy which would have impaired the influence and value of the Conference, and would have sowed discord among those who were agreed on the question of arbitration, and who absolutely need to present a united front in enthusiastic support of the measure. The danger line was reached once or twice, as it was; but the entreaties of the highly respected host and the good sense of the members averted the peril.

The tone of the Conference was one of hope and thankfulness. All felt that the Czar's rescript and the actual meeting of the International Conference at the Hague were events of vast importance; and that the cause of arbitration had received a wonderful impetus. But the prevailing tone was not unduly sanguine. It was realized that the meeting at the Hague might still fail to accomplish what is hoped from it, — that, even if it exceeds the most sanguine expectations, its action must be officially ratified, and treaties framed to carry out its recommendations; and that there still exists a vast amount of popular indifference, if not opposition, which must be met and overcome.

The Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale opened the deliberations of the Conference with a very interesting address, in which he suggested that the Conference should embody in its platform these suggestions to the Hague Congress:

1. That, as Baron de Staal had said, the Congress gains power by not attempting Utopia.

2. That the Congress should appoint a day, say two years hence, for the meeting of a similar Congress, and that such meetings should be regularly held in the future.

3. That an agreement may well be made among the more important commercial nations to ensure the safety of private property at sea.

4. That such matters as postage, lanes of ocean commerce, passports, surrender of criminals, quarantine, and even international finance, may be advanced by the Congress.

5. That the Conference should express its satisfaction that a permanent tribunal is under consideration.

6. That it is not necessary to define in advance the questions which shall come before it, or to oblige any nation to submit cases to it.

7. That such a tribunal might be established if only three or four nations join in it at first.

8. That the Congress should refer to this

tribunal such open questions as it is not able to determine, to be reported at its next meeting.

Six sessions of the Conference were held. There were many addresses from persons of the most diverse experiences and careers, differing widely in their views, but all heartily in favor of the Permanent Tribunal. Mr. W. Martin Jones, of Rochester, who was one of the Committee of the New York Bar Association, which prepared the famous plan for an International Court, gave an interesting history of the work, and stated that copies of the Plan had been sent three years ago to all the courts of Europe.

Everett P. Wheeler, Esq., translated the text of a treaty concluded in July, 1898, between Italy and the Argentine Republic, and already ratified by the latter, by which it is provided that all disputes between the two countries, (not excepting even those involving national honor, so called,) should be submitted to arbitration. This is believed to be the first agreement of the kind in the history of the world. Prof. Amos R. Wells, of Auburndale, gave an account of the work that is being done among the Societies of Christian Endeavor. Memorials favoring arbitration are being circulated among them for signatures; and encouraging progress has been made in creating an interest in the subject among the members of this vast organization, whose influence will be so important in the near future. Prof. Bracq, a French clergyman, now at Vassar College, said he had not, for years, seen a Frenchman who was a "Jingo." He spoke of the efforts made by the French government to submit the Fashoda dispute to arbitration, and of the refusal of England to settle the question in that way; and also said that he had not been able to find a French newspaper, except—singularly enough—a few religious weekly journals, that was not in favor of the principle of arbitration.

Mr. Wm. J. Coombs, of Brooklyn, made an excellent speech, from the point of view of an eminent merchant. Notably good speeches were made also by the Hon. S. B. Capen, of Boston, George G. Mercer, of Philadelphia, John Crosby Brown, of New York, and Walter S. Logan, President of the New York Bar Association. The maimed forms of Generals Oliver O. Howard and Wager Swayne lent a pathetic interest to their words and to their presence at an arbitration meeting; and the very emphatic and earnest address of the venerable Rev. Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, at the concluding session, was touching and impressive.

Preëminent among the members of the Conference was ex-Senator Edmunds, who, in spite of his great disappointment at the rule which forbade his expressing his strong anti-imperialist convictions, consented to preside over the meetings; and whose massive frame, and noble head, and simple, dignified bearing, marked him as a leader among men.

The Conference sent a resolution of congratulation and also a telegram to the American Commissioners at the Hague; and it adopted the following platform, prepared by a Committee, of which the Hon. John I. Gilbert, of Malone, N. Y., was chairman:

"We urge the immediate establishment of a permanent international court, which shall be open to all nations for the adjudication of whatever controversies may arise between them, and which they are unable to settle by diplomacy or mediation. In the constitution of this court we urge the application of the same principles which experience has shown to be most conducive to the ends of justice in judicial controversies between individuals. In this highest of human tribunals the judges should be selected solely for their recognized ability, learning and impartiality.

During the last few years the cause of arbitration has made wonderful progress. Since our last meeting a treaty between Italy and the Argentine Republic has been negotiated. This marks a great advance over all former arbitration treaties, in that it provides for the settlement of all disputes that may arise between them, questions of honor not being excepted. Within the past year another event of transcendent importance has occurred, in the summoning by the Czar of Russia of a great international conference to consider how war can be averted and its burdens reduced. This conference marks an epoch in the history of the world. It is the first great step toward the federated peace of the world. The Czar is entitled to gratitude and respectful admiration for his noble initiative. Earnestly do we hope that the work so auspiciously begun at the Hague will go forward, un-

til at last, and at no distant date, the peace of the world shall rest on sure foundations of justice, and nations be relieved from the well-nigh intolerable burdens of war.

We must not forget, however, that the work of that conference is only preliminary, and that the results of its deliberations must be submitted for ratification to the several governments there represented. We therefore here earnestly resolve to do what we can to promote popular intelligence and quicken the popular conscience, to the end that, when this subject comes before our representatives at Washington, there shall be no doubt as to what the people demand in this time of supreme opportunity. We believe that the gratifying progress already made, and the inspiring hopes which we confidently entertain for the future, are because men are learning the moral righteousness of peace, and because God rules the world. D. G. H., JR.

THE DESIRE FOR PEACE.

The desire for peace must ultimately bring peace. Tolstoi believes that peace will come only when men as individuals refuse to take up arms, that is, when the desire for peace settles into conviction.

Outlawed long ago has been the settlement of personal quarrels by fighting — significantly termed "breaking the peace."

The Doukaboërs by tens of thousands are swarming into our land, exiles from Russia because of their desire for peace settling into conviction and culminating in their refusal to bear arms.

When the principle of these Russian Quakers and the peaceful principle of the Society of Friends in England and America reach a point of ascendancy, the desire for peace among nations will not appear Quixotic.

As personal quarrels are now settled by various punishments lawfully imposed and no longer by personal violence, so also are disputes between towns and States, — why not those of Nations? Municipal courts, state courts, even national courts are accepted as a matter of course — why not international courts?

Is it because of imagined lack of power to enforce its rulings?

The power to enforce the findings of any court — municipal, state or federal — lies, in the last analysis, in the sense of the people. Why not expect that there will obtain — nay, that there must obtain in an international court the same general conscience or sense of honor?

Is it because of a lack of stability — here today and gone tomorrow — as when the Peace Conference at the Hague shall have adjourned *sine die?* But the stability of any court — national or international — is determined by three things: the purpose of its organization, the wisdom of its constitution, and finally, the character of its judges. But among civilized communities there has been no general breaking down in respect of these essential elements of stability. Courts of worthy and enduring purpose, of competent and availing wisdom and of honorable and intelligent character have found a place among the nations of the earth, and are today holding session of immense practical value to the communities in which they are set up.

Why, then, may not an international court be reckoned with as to stability? Why may not a permanent tribunal of the nations be fairly counted upon to represent the enduring purpose, the sufficient wisdom and the high-minded character of the people of the world?

In the domain of reason there are no fixed objections or insuperable obstacles to the realization of this desire for international and permanent peace.

Seventy-five million people desiring peace will one day achieve it.

Nothing is so potent as an idea. But there must be no compromise; no flinching from the thought, the wish, the desire.

The idea of universal peace has arrived.

SAMUEL RICHARD FULLER.

President Angell, of Michigan University, says: "The creation of the Arbitration scheme is the fruit of a noble aspiration, which itself will conduce to the preservation of peace."

A new era dawns, now that the chief victims of war begin to hold the purse-strings of war. A broadening suffrage has lifted ballots into authority over bullets. JOSEPH COOK.

The Peace Crusade.

THE PEACE CRUSADE RECORD WILL CONTAIN THE LATEST INFORMATION ACCESSIBLE REGARDING THE MOVEMENT OF NATIONS FOR

PERMANENT PEACE.

JUNE 14.] **PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY.** [1899

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This sheet, which we have entitled "The Peace Crusade," will be published once a fortnight at the office of the LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 1 Beacon Street, Boston. The publication will continue until the close of the conference proposed by the Emperor of Russia. The price of subscription will be placed at twenty-five cents for the series. We invite clubs, alliances, and peace societies to subscribe for one hundred copies each. For one hundred such subscriptions the price will be $15.00.

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The reader will find in another column the brief report of the proceedings of the Peace Conference at the Hague.

As he will see, the spirit of the whole is most encouraging. For the prophecies which we ventured to make here as to the possibilities of this great assembly are more than fulfilled. It cannot be supposed that these gentlemen are going to arrive at a unanimous conclusion; but it is certainly very gratifying that thus far no gulf has appeared dividing the assembly into two parties, but rather that the differences of opinion are such as might be expected,—nay, might be hoped for, where nearly one hundred men are together. One says, with reverence, that it is the spirit of God which makes men agree in one house; and this is certain, that the world over, earnest prayer has been going up that the spirit of peace might be in the midst of these men who represent the best hopes of the best men and women in the world.

On the one side and on the other, the Conference more than reflects the best prophecies which were made regarding it. That is, on the side of detail there have been brought forward one subject and another which it seemed almost hopeless to bring into an assembly which had central objects so grave as those presented here. Quite on the other hand, the Conference has approached with easy dignity the solution of questions which every-day people chose to consider impossible. When this great man, Baron de Staal, said at the beginniug that they would not attempt Utopia, he did not say it in any mean or pettifogging habit of thought. He had not that miserable cowardice which calls a thing Utopian because it is better than yesterday revealed. So it seems that many great realities are practicable to him, which the Philistines or the Pharisees or the Sadducees of the world have flung one side as among the impossible.

It would be safe to say that hardly a day has passed since the 18th of May, when the printed despatch from the Hague, — growing longer and longer as men understand the importance of such despatches, — has not asserted more and promised more for the pacification of the world than men, even the most hopeful, had dared to hope for.

E. E. H.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

Our last number followed the proceedings at the Hague until May 26th. The several sub-committees were at work in the following days, and the official record of the 29th gives this statement of the proceedings of the week.

"Provisional proposals for mediation and arbitration have been submitted by the representatives of Russia, Great Britain, Italy and the United States"

The text for the American proposal for a permanent international tribunal is in the following words:

"Resolved, That in order to aid in the prevention of armed conflicts by pacific means, the representatives of the sovereign powers assembled together in this conference be and they hereby are requested to propose to their respective governments a series of negotiations for the adoption of a general treaty, having for its object the following plan, with such modifications as may be essential to secure the adhesion of at least nine sovereign powers, four of whom at least shall have been signatories of the declaration of Paris, the German Empire being, for this purpose, the successor of Prussia, and the Kingdom of Italy for the successor of Sardinia.

"Article 1. The tribunal shall be composed of persons nominated on account of their personal integrity and learning in international law by a majority of the members of the highest Court at the time existing in each of the adhering States, one from each sovereign State participating in the treaty, and who shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

Article 5. The bench of judges for each particular case shall consist of as many as may be agreed upon by the litigating nations, either of the entire bench or of any smaller number not less than three, to be chosen from the whole Court. In the event of a bench of three judges only, no one of those shall be a native subject or citizen of a State whose interests are in litigation in the case.

Article 6. The general expenses of the tribunal are to be equally divided or upon some equitable basis between the adherent powers; but those arising from each particular case shall be provided for as may be directed by the tribunal. The presentation of a case wherein one or both of the parties may be a non-adherent State shall be admitted only upon condition of a mutual agreement that the States so litigating shall pay respectively a sum to be fixed by the tribunal for the expenses of adjudication. The salaries of the judges may be so adjusted as to be paid only when they are actually engaged in the duties of the court.

Article 7. Every litigant before the international tribunal shall have the right to a hearing of the case before the same judges within three months of the notification of the decision, or alleging newly discovered evidence, or submitting questions of law not heard and decided at the former hearing.

Article 8. This treaty shall become operative when nine sovereign States, such as are indicated in the resolution, shall have ratified its provisions."

The American project was accompanied by a memorandum, entitled, "Memorandum from the Commissioners of the United States, submitted with their project for a permanent international tribunal."

The text of the memorandum follows:

"The proposal herewith submitted takes its form as a resolution looking to action outside of the conference from our instructions. The proposal shows the earnest desire of the President of the United States for a permanent international tribunal for the conduct of arbitration between nations and the willingness of the President to extend in the establishment of such a tribunal upon the general lines indicated.

"The Commissioners from the United States are ready, without insisting upon the form of their own receptions, to try to develop the proposals heretofore submitted to the conference, so that they shall embody what is essential in this plan. It seems to the United States Commissioners that it ought not to be difficult to associate with the several proposals, as they may eventually be developed for mediation in various forms of international inquiry and arbitration by special arrangement, a plan for a permanent tribunal of arbitration, which will embody what is essential in the American resolution."

These proposals were submitted on the 1st of June, a day or two after the Russian and English proposals. It is understood on good authority that the draft was made at Washington, under the direction of the Department of State. Our readers will see that it includes the most important proposals of the New York State Bar Association.

In the Conference itself, more questions of detail were brought in, and it is said that the use of explosives from balloons, and the use of explosive bullets, was prohibited. But it must be understood that these will be simply preliminary votes. The Geneva Convention Committee discussed proposals regarding the treatment of the wounded and sick. It is believed that the subject of private property at sea was under discussion.

Wholly apart from the plans with regard to a permanent tribunal are the proposals for mediation between the powers. We find it necessary to say this, because we find that the journals generally speak of the two as if they were the same. This plan was introduced on the 3rd of June. Articles 1 and 2 are declaratory, to the effect that the signatory powers, in order to prevent a recourse to force, have agreed to effect pacific solutions of differences, and will, except in exceptional circumstances, before an appeal to force, have recourse to the mediation of one or more friendly powers.

Article 3 says: "Independently of a recourse to such amicable means, the signatories deem it expedient that one or more powers not concerned in the conflict, should offer, of its own or their own initiative and, so far as circumstances will permit, its or their good offices of mediation to the states at variance. The right to offer good offices of mediation belongs to powers not concerned in the conflict, even during the course of actual hostilities; and the exercise of this right can never be considered by the parties at variance as an unfriendly act."

Article 4 provides that the role of mediator shall consist in the reconciliation of conflicting claims, and the allaying of bitterness between states at variance.

Article 5, defining the limitation of the functions of a mediation, says these shall cease on the moment when it is stated by one of the parties to the dispute, or by the mediator, that the arrangement or the basis of a friendly understanding proposed by him is not accepted.

Article 6 says that the good offices contemplated, either at the instance of the parties at variance, or on the initiative of uninvolved powers, are exclusively of the character of friendly counsel.

Article 7 says: "Acceptance of mediation cannot have the effect, except by virtue of a convention to the contrary, or interrupting or retarding or hampering mobilization or other preparations for war. If mediation intervenes after the opening of hostilities, it shall not interrupt, except by virtue of a convention to the contrary, military operations in course of execution."

Art. 8—The signatories are in accord to recommend, in all circumstances permitting it, special mediation in the following form:

"In the event of grave differences threatening peace, the states at variance shall choose, respectively, a power to which each shall confide the mission of entering into direct relations with the power chosen by the other side, in order to prevent a rupture of friendly relations. During the currency of their mandate, which, except in the event of a stipulation to the contrary, shall not exceed 30 days, the question in dispute shall be considered as referred exclusively to those powers. They shall apply all their efforts to settle the dispute and, in the event of an actual rupture of friendly relations, shall remain charged with the mission of taking advantage of every occasion to restore peace."

The draft was adopted without modification, although the committee stipulated that it should be subject to modifications at the second reading.

THE ITALY--ARGENTINE TREATY.

A general treaty of arbitration has been concluded between the kingdom of Italy and the Argentine Republic, which marks a decided advance in such treaties. Article I expressly states that the signatory power engage to submit to arbitration all controversies which might arise between them *for any cause whatever.* The tribunal of arbitration is to consist of three

judges, one named by each of the contracting powers and a third by these two. In case of disagreement upon the choice of the third judge some friendly power shall be asked to make the choice; or, this failing, the choice shall be made by the president of the Swiss Confederation or the King of Sweden and Norway. This third judge shall serve as president of the tribunal. The same person shall not be named successively as the third judge. Another noteworthy provision of this treaty is that no one of the arbitrators shall be a citizen of the contracting states now resident in their territories; nor may he have any personal interest in the questions which are the object of arbitration. The sessions of the tribunal also must be held outside the territory of the contracting states. Provision is also made for a revision of a decree of the tribunal, if judgment have been made upon a false or erroneous document, or as the result of an error of fact.

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT.

The fundamental characteristic of Saxon jurisprudence is that it has grown; it is the product of evolution. The Roman jurisprudence was practically a code; it was a series of enactments which went into the minutest details for all forms of litigation. Napoleon, one day when he had a little leisure from war, made a code; and that Napoleonic code has become practically the law of the Latin world. But it is artificial; it was built up all in one summer. The common law of the English-speaking nations, the jurisprudence under which we live, is the product of two thousand years of evolution. It is imitated by every country in the world which in any respect seeks to reform its jurisprudence. The international tribunal which is to come must be a tribunal formed along the lines of our common law jurisprudence.

The distinguishing feature of the actual operation of our common law jurisprudence is the evolution of the cross-examination. Any tribunal can pass upon a question of law; the trouble arises when there is a question of fact. When two men have seen a thing differently, or remember things differently, honestly or otherwise; — every judge here will tell you that is the troublesome part of a lawsuit. They used to settle the question of which should be believed by putting the two men on horses, with a tin plate in front of each, and setting them upon each other, and the one who survived was held to be the one who had told the truth. But we English speaking people have followed the method of cross-examination, and we are the only people in the world who have done so. Under the systems which prevail in other parts of the world, except where they have imitated us, the witness is taken into a closet with a judge, and the judge takes his testimony; and if he is an honest judge he takes nothing else. With us, the credibility of the witness is subjected to the test of a cross-examination. It is the evolution of the cross-examiner which has made our jurisprudence possible. An international tribunal must have the power to summon witnesses and to cross-examine them. The lawyer must be there.

WALTER S. LOGAN,
At the Mohonk Conference.

AN OPEN LETTER.

"The Dutch have taken Holland." The optimists have captured the Hague Conference. The programme is as if we had planned it. Where now are the British delegates who, at Turin last summer, warned their colleagues at the Peace Conference "against making themselves the laughing stock of Europe by coupling projects which the average man would at once reject as Utopian with the one practical project which had just received the unexpected adherence of a great military ruler"—namely, disarmament? Where is the Cambridge (England) professor, who thought disarmament was "the one definite proposal of the Czar," and scoffed at the advocates of arbitration as "enthusiasts who dream of organizing the millenium?" Where are the pessimists who, in spite of the opening words of the irenicon: "The maintenance of general peace," predicted that the Conference would not consider the question of a permanent international tribunal? For behold, the question is the first to be considered, and the American hope seems about to be realized!

GEORGE G. MERCER.
Philadelphia, May 25.

THE PEACE CRUSADE.

The Peace Crusade.

THE PEACE CRUSADE RECORD WILL CONTAIN THE LATEST INFORMATION ACCESSIBLE REGARDING THE MOVEMENT OF NATIONS FOR PERMANENT PEACE.

JUNE 28.] **PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY.** [1899

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This sheet, which we have entitled "The Peace Crusade," will be published once a fortnight at the office of the LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 1 Beacon Street, Boston. The publication will continue until the close of the conference proposed by the Emperor of Russia. The price of subscription will be placed at twenty-five cents for the series. For one hundred such subscriptions the price will be $15.00.

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With every week the work of the conference at the Hague becomes more interesting. And even the most distrustful are beginning to see that it is impossible for so many men to come together, with so serious a purpose, without important results. In the Journal of the Conference, which we publish in its own place, it will be easy for our readers to trace these results, so far as they are yet known from the outside of the hall of meeting. The experience of the conference justifies the opinion of wise men before it met, that it should not meet with open doors. It is clear that the discussion is more profitable because in a manner it is confidential. There is no room for pride of opinion, and in such a meeting as this, all that anyone wants is that the best may be suggested. What seems the best today may prove tomorrow to be only a stepping-stone towards something better.

It is, of course, not proper that the members of the conference themselves shall write in detail of the proceedings of a body which sits privately. The letters of persons outside the conference are in every sort encouraging, because they are inspiring It is very interesting to see how some persons who went there with very little hope are becoming leaders in lines which they did not think, a month ago, they should be treading. We are able to print a letter from Mr. Howard M. Jenkins of Philadelphia, our own correspondent at the Hague. Our friend, Dr. Trueblood, is writing the most interesting letters, which the Peace Society will undoubtedly collect and publish at length. No person is better qualified than he to give information on the work of the last century in the direction of peace; and no one can better observe and understand what is passing in the Congress itself. In another column we print some passages from Dr. Trueblood's letter of June 3. E. E. H.

THE LAW OF MARITIME CAPTURE.

The *London Times* of the 2d of June publishes an important article on the law of maritime capture. It may be that no immediate result will follow from the discussion of this subject, but great good is gained every time that it is discussed and called up to men's memory.

To Americans it is interesting to see the respect with which the *Times* speaks of our proposals now, and the steady line of our protests in this matter, from the time of Franklin down to the present. The *Times* says: "This proposal made by the American delegation at the Hague represents a long and honorable tradition of American policy." It quotes again Sir Henry Main, who emphatically records his opinion that the proposal of the American government to give up privateering on condition of exempting all private property from capture, might well be made by some very strong friend of Great Britain.

The article in the *Times* closes by an interesting discussion of the central question, Is food contraband of war?

The writer, however, overlooks a consideration which has a good deal of force in the minds of professional soldiers and sailors. The truth is that the parallel between the conditions of private property on land and of that property on the sea, is not perfect. A man builds a mill on the land, and furnishes it with the machinery for grinding corn, with the knowledge that his property is bound in this particular place. Every tradition and every expectation of the history of the place, and every law of nature alike compel him to keep his property there. He cannot remove it if he would; it is no fault of his that it is there.

On the other hand, a merchant puts in a ship a certain valuable property, and sends it to another port. With his eyes open he takes the risk of storm, wave, piracy and war. Had he chosen it, he need not have sent his property to sea at all. He has chosen to send it, and up to a certain point he has undoubtedly committed himself to what we call, in common conversation, "the fortunes of war." On the other hand, the sailor who captures it has taken the same risks. They are both playing a game, into which each has voluntarily entered.

It is impossible to say that the rights of the merchant who has entered into this game are the same with those of the mill-owner whose father or grandfather perhaps built the dam, established the mill-wheel, and created the property at issue, in case that mill is captured by the forces of an enemy.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCE.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

I came to The Hague on the morning of the 8th and left yesterday morning, 12th. In the four days I employed myself as industriously as possible, learning the situation, *but* the Conference sitting privately, and the newspapers printing, (nevertheless), the official documents as they are developed, and information from day to day, it is impossible that I should give you much information which you already have not, or which, by the time this can be in your hands, you will not receive.

The case in general is this:

1. The Conference met, with the expectation on the part of its majority, (say 60 to 80 per cent.), that it was not to be a real effort at all, but simply a formal and civil "burial of the Czar's scheme." This was on the lips of the delegates generally when they came together.

2. The American and the English delegates met this, on the outset of exchange of views, by avowing *their* purpose to achieve a result along the line of the call. They said: "We are here for real work. We are prepared to bring forward proposals. If the Conference fails those who are responsible for failure must answer to the world."

3. This initiative, (possible, indeed, only to the nations of the first rank; and furthermore, to those not bound hand and foot by the military bonds, to wit, England and the United States), roused the delegates and seemed to start the Conference. Russia, of course, supported action, when the two English-speaking nations led off, and France could not fail to follow Russia.

4. Such is the paralysis of Europe in a military sense, so dead-locked are all the nations with their preparations for war upon one another, and — especially — such is the German suspicion of Russia, that disarmament, or even a check to armament, seems impossible. Russia could have made it possible by a single stroke; but this she did not supply. "If," said a leading delegate to me, "she had announced at the opening that she would at once reduce her army, say 300,000 men, (and she could easily spare that from her enormous force), there would have been no difficulty; the movement for a reduction could have gone forward."

(To this I would add that if Russia had announced such a step, she would have had to make some sufficient demonstration of its reality to the other military nations, especially Germany, for they say, "We do not know Russia's army. She publishes no returns. She might say she had reduced, but how is one to feel sure?")

5. The section on armament has therefore done nothing, practically, and is not expected to. Yet Russia *may*, at a later time, give some such support and impetus to it as I have suggested. She can do so, in all probability, if she will. But unless she moves, Germany will not, and none of the others.

6. The section on the Laws of War, etc., may accomplish something. It will, however, be only detail, and of minor significance compared with the first and second sections.

7. Arbitration, (including mediation) is therefore the one great promise. * * *

Finally, if arbitration succeeds, the Conference is successful and further Conferences will follow. If, indeed, *any* clearly valuable result appears, tending to reduce the force of militarism, the Conference is justified and will be repeated. The great thing was to acknowledge (1) the right of the nations to confer, and (2) the need of conferring as to War. If from such conference of them all (or nearly all) it appears that the world wants a mitigation of its slaughters, the verdict is writ large, and becomes a great force and a historic verity, from which further evolution must and will proceed.

JOURNAL OF THE CONFERENCE.

June 15. The Red Cross sub-committee of the peace conference met today, Prof. Asser of the Dutch delegation presiding. Prof. Louis Renault of the French delegation explained that certain modifications had been made in the report, meeting the wishes expressed by his colleagues at the last session.

Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, U. S. N., declared his readiness to support the proposals submitted in a spirit of conciliation, though he considered they presented a lacuna in regard to the position of shipwrecked men, picked up by vessels finding themselves accidentally on the scene of a naval engagement. The sub-committee, however, considered that Art. 9 covered all eventualities.

Dr. Monoto Itchiro, of the Japanese delegation, announced that he proposed to submit a motion modifying Art. 6 of the Geneva convention, regarding the disposition of sick and wounded prisoners, on the lines of the sub-committee's report, which leaves such disposition for the victors to decide

The report being adopted, the president pointed out the advantage which would be gained if, during the conference, a convention could be signed embodying the important humanitarian articles comprised in the sub-committee's scheme.

On motion of Baron de Bildt, the delegate of Norway and Sweden, it was decided the president should present to the conference such a convention, with the final article providing for the signature of protocols of adhesion thereto. The committee will also recommend to the conference the revision of the Geneva convention of 1864.

On the motion of Admiral Sir John Fisher, representative of Great Britain, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded the chairman, "whose efficient work made possible the application of the Geneva articles to naval war, the first practical result of the conference."

Sir Julian Pauncefote has submitted the proposal of the English commissioners for a permanent court of arbitration. We have not as yet the full text, but the *London Times* gives a full outline of it, as follows:

A permanent office is to be established at Berne, The Hague, or Brussels, where the archives are to be preserved, and which will form the headquarters for all the official business of the Court. A permanent secretary and keeper of the records and the necessary *personnel* are to reside on the spot. This permanent officer is to assemble the tribunal whenever litigants apply for its intervention. With regard to the selection of an arbitrator, each of the States accepting this convention is to submit to the other States the names of two persons of high character and integrity possessing the

necessary qualifications. They will be *ex-officio* members of the tribunal. In case of a vacancy by death or other causes, the name of a successor is to be communicated in the same way to the other States.

When the services of the tribunal are required by any States in disagreement the application is to be made to the secretary at the central office, who will give the litigants the list of members of the tribunal, from which they will select such number of arbiters as may be provided for in the arbitration agreement. They will be at liberty to choose as arbiter any other person whose name is not contained in the list. The persons thus selected will form the tribunal, which will meet at a date to be fixed by the litigants. The tribunal will hold its sittings at headquarters, but will have power to sit elsewhere, as its own convenience or that of the litigants may suggest, or even to change from time to time, as circumstances may make convenient. States that do not sign the convention may nevertheless avail themselves of the tribunal on the conditions stipulated therein.

When once the convention has been signed, it is proposed that the States concerned should organize a permanent council of administration, consisting of five members and a secretary. This council will establish a central office, to be under its own control and management. It will make rules and regulations for the working of the office, and will deal with all questions that may arise in connection with the working of the tribunal and also those that may be submitted to it by the central office. Its powers as regards the appointment, suspension or dismissal of all employees will be absolute. It will fix their salaries and control the general expenditure. The council will elect a president, who will have a casting vote. Three members will form a quorum, and the decisions of the council will be governed by a majority of votes. The remuneration of the members is to be fixed from time to time by agreement among the signatory States. The latter will pay equal shares towards the expenses of the institution and the maintenance of the central office, and of the council of administration, the cost of arbitration, including the remuneration of the arbiters, to be covered in equal proportions by each litigant.

It will be seen that this plan, like the American, is distinctly based on the plan drawn up in 1896 by the New York State Bar Association.

We have now the full text of the Russian proposals, which were presented to the conference as early as May 26. The plan is as follows:

Elements for the elaboration of a convention to be concluded by the Powers participating in The Hague Conference.

PART I. GOOD OFFICES AND MEDIATION.

Article I.—In order to prevent, as far as possible, recourse to force in international relations, the signatory Powers are agreed to employ every effort to bring about by pacific means the solution of conflicts which may arise among them.

Article II.—In consequence the signatory Powers are decided, in the event of serious disagreement or conflict, before appealing to arms to have recourse, so far as circumstances will permit, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

Article III.—In the event of mediation being spontaneously accepted by States in conflict, the aim of the mediatory Government consists in endeavoring to bring about a conciliation between the States.

Article IV.—The *role* of the mediatory Government ceases from the moment when the compromise proposed by it, or the bases of a friendly agreement which it may have suggested, shall not have been accepted by the States in conflict.

Article V. — Should the Powers consider it advisable, in the event of a serious disagreement or conflict between civilized States regarding questions of political interest, the Powers not implicated in the conflict shall offer of their own initiative, so far as circumstances are favorable, their good offices or their mediation to the disputing States in order to remove the difference that has arisen by proposing an amicable solution which, without affecting the interests of other States, shall be of a conciliatory nature in the best interests of the parties in dispute.

Article VI.—It remains well understood that mediation and the employment of good offices,

either at the instance of the parties in dispute or of neutral Powers, shall bear strictly the character of friendly counsel and in no way of compulsory force.

PART II. — INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

Article VII.—In so far as regards a dispute relating to questions of right, and primarily to those affecting the interpretation or application of treaties in force, arbitration is recognized by the signatory Powers as being the most efficacious and most equitable means of settling these disputes in a friendly manner.

Article VIII.—The contracting Powers therefore undertake to have recourse to arbitration in cases relating to questions of the above mentioned order, so far as these affect neither the vital interests nor the national honor of the parties in dispute.

Article IX.—Each State remains the sole judge of the question whether this or that case shall be submitted to arbitration, excepting the cases enumerated In the following article, where the signatory powers consider arbitration as compulsory.

Article X.—After the ratification of the present Act by all the signatory Powers, arbitration is obligatory in the following cases, so far as it effects neither the vital interest nor the national honor of the contracting parties. In the event of differences or disputes relating to pecuniary damages sustained by a State; in the event of disagreements relating to the interpretation or application of treaties and conventions hereafter mentioned — postal, telegraph, and railway treaties and conventions, and those relating to the protection of sub-marine cables; agreements as to the means for preventing the collision of ships at sea; conventions relating to the navigation of international rivers and inter-oceanic canals; conventions regarding the protection of literary and artistic property, industrial property, patents, and trademarks; monetary and metrical conventions; sanitary conventions, &c.

Article XI.—The above list may be completed by subsequent arrangements among the signatory Powers. Moreover each Power shall be able to enter into a special arrangement with another Power for the purpose of rendering arbitration obligatory in the above-mentioned cases before the general ratification, and also to extend the scope of arbitration to all cases which it is considered possible to submit to it.

Article XII. — In all other cases of international conflicts not mentioned in the above articles, arbitration, while certainly being very desirable and recommended by the present act, is nevertheless purely facultative—that is to say, it can only be applied on the spontaneous initiative of one of the parties in dispute, and with the express consent of the other parties.

Article XIII.—With the view of facilitating recourse to arbitration and its application, the signatory Powers are agreed to formulate a common arrangement for the employment of international arbitration, and for the fundamental principles to be observed in the drawing up of the rules of procedure to be followed pending the inquiry into the dispute, and the pronouncement of the decision of the arbitrators. The application of these fundamental principles, as also of the arbitration procedure indicated in the appendix to the present article, may be modified in virtue of a special arrangement between States which may have recourse to arbitration.

PART III. — INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY.

Article XIV.—In cases in which divergencies of views occur between the signatory States, in connection with local circumstances giving rise to litigation of an international character, which cannot be settled by the ordinary diplomatic means, but in which neither the honor nor the vital interests of these States are engaged, the Governments interested agree to institute an international commission of inquiry in order to arrive at the causes of the disagreement, and to clear up on the spot, by an impartial and conscientious examination of all questions of fact.

Article XV.—These international commissions shall be constituted as follows: — Each Government interested shall appoint two members, and the four members united shall choose a fifth member, who shall at the same time be president of the commission. If the votes shall be divided for the choice of a president, the two

Governments interested shall appeal either to another Government or to a third party, who shall appoint the president of the committee.

Article XVI.—Governments between which a grave disagreement or conflict shall arise in the circumstances indicated above shall engage to furnish the commission of inquiry with all means and facilities necessary for a thorough and conscientious study of the facts.

Article XVII. — The International Commission of Inquiry, after having acquainted itself with the circumstances in which the disagreement or conflict arose, shall submit to the Governments interested a report signed by all the members of the Commission.

Article XVIII.—The report of the Commission of Inquiry shall in no wise have the character of an arbitration judgment. It leaves the Governments in conflict at full liberty, either to conclude a friendly arrangement on the basis of the said report, or to have recourse to arbitration by concluding an agreement *ad hoc*, or else by resorting to the active measures allowable in the mutual relations between nations.

The Russian proposal is followed by a draft code of arbitration.

ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE HAGUE.

. . . "When I first arrived at The Hague, at the opening of the conference, I was at once impressed with the intense interest felt by all the delegates, as well as by everybody else, in the deliberations then opening. This interest, it is true, was accompanied by a good deal of scepticism on the part of many of the delegates, and by much reserve on the part of a few. But in the body as a whole there was evident, from the very beginning, a deep interest in the subject which had called them together, and not the least disposition, so far as could be discovered, to put obstacles in the way of the success of the meeting.

"I discovered also, immediately, that there was in the gathering a profound sense of the responsibility resting upon the members, and a feeling that the cause which had brought them to The Hague was not simply the affair of a few diplomats, gathered about a green table to speculate, finesse and do nothing, but a matter in which the whole civilized world was practically interested, and about which, therefore, something serious must be done.

"This sense of seriousness developed rapidly among the members, and soon drove out all scepticism and hesitation.

. . . "It is doubtful if any gathering of diplomats ever got so speedily and intelligently to work on the matter intrusted to them, especially a matter with which so many of them were unacquainted. This was due in no small part to the character of the work, and to the fact that there were a few men among the members who had given long and careful thought to the subjects to be considered, particularly to arbitration. Sir Julian Pauncefote had helped to draw up the Anglo-American treaty; Senator Descamps, who is chairman of the sub-committee on arbitration, had drafted for the Brussels Interparliamentary Conference one of the best known schemes for the organization of international arbitration; Professor de Maartens had written and published articles and books on the subject; the Italian delegates had the knowledge of the Italo-Argentine treaty with them; and M. Bourgeois, who is one of the most pushing, business-like men in the conference, was thoroughly conversant with the abundant material which French thinkers have furnished on the subject. This gave the conference an excellent start, and accounts in part for the prominent place so far given to arbitration.

. . . "There are a number of the leaders in the peace movement present in The Hague. They have been treated with real respect by the members of the conference, and their services in preparing the conditions which have rendered the conference possible are frankly recognized. The Baroness von Suttner, whose great story, 'Lay Down Your Arms,' has already passed through twenty editions in German, is the most prominent of the peace visitors. She was admitted to the opening sitting of the conference the only woman to whom that honor fell. M. Bloch, whose monumental work on 'The Future War' has stirred, not the emperor of Russia alone, but all Europe as well, has attracted

universal attention. He is a simple, modest man, though of high, social position and great wealth. His book — the two volumes already published in French and German — has been in great demand, and he has given away whole cabloads of them. He is to begin in a day or two a series of lectures on war, in one of the halls here, with the aid of lantern slides. Dr. Darby, secretary of the London Peace Society, is here. His book, 'International Tribunals,' has proved of immense service, containing, as it does, all the schemes for arbitration tribunals which have appeared. M. de Staal has distributed one hundred copies of the book to the members of the conference. Among other friends of peace here may be mentioned Mr. Stead, Mr. A. H. Fried from Berlin, Mr. Moschles from London, Miss Robinson from Liverpool, Mr. Fredrik Bajer, leader of the peace forces in Denmark, Madame Selenka, whose recent splendid work in Munich is well known, Mr. Novicow, the eminent sociologist of Odessa, and a deputation of the English Friends, who were received with great courtesy and respect by the president of the conference. All these peace visitors, it is a pleasure to say, have shown themselves prudent, and have not troubled the members of the conference by untimely and improper advice.

. . . "There has been no plenary sitting of the conference for more than a week, nor is there likely to be for many days yet. The sections are working busily day by day on the subjects committed to them. They are all making progress, even the disarmament section, about which nearly complete scepticism has so far prevailed, not having entirely abandoned hope of doing something practical. This subject is, however, sure to be the last one disposed of. The committee on the extension of the Red Cross to maritime warfare is moving slowly, because of the difficulty of working out satisfactorily the details of a convention. The committee on the laws and customs of war is going over the Brussels convention article by article, and has already disposed of many points.

. . . "The arbitration question has awakened by far the most interest, and it is here that the chief work of the conference will be done. I was told this morning by a prominent member that a satisfactory scheme was sure to be agreed upon in a short time. The Russian scheme, prepared by Professor Maartens, has been published in full. That brought by Sir Julian Pauncefote is much shorter and simpler than the Russian. This British scheme will probably be the basis of the final scheme. It will be modified by the addition of something from the Russian proposal, and also from the American plan. Italy is also contributing much to the material proposed, and the sub-committee has the great advantage of the counsel, and help of its chairman, Senator Descamps, who is one of the greatest arbitration experts in Europe. The mediation scheme proposed by the American delegation, and very ably expounded by their secretary, Mr. Holls, has been received with much favor, and seems likely to get the approval of the conference.

. . . "At the present moment everything indicates that the fruit of the conference, in which there has been practically no friction, but genuine harmony, will be very important. An arbitration agreement, providing a permanent tribunal, or something equivalent, will be the first. The laws of war will be restated and 'improved.' The Geneva convention will be extended, in some part at least, to war at sea. It is still questionable whether anything will be done in the way of reduction of armaments. It is possible that after the other subjects are disposed of the conference will feel itself compelled, in order to save its work, to adopt some simple, tentative reduction of armament scheme. Not the least important result of the conference is likely to be that it will lead to a series of similar conferences in the future. This seems here, among the delegates, to be a foregone conclusion." . . . BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

PEACE AS ASSURED BY ECONOMICS.

The commerce which is opening before the world is the first of three great influences, the culmination of which mean the extension to the great inert, outlying sections of the world of the benefits of civilization. It is the assimilation to that which is highest in humanity of that which has been left out in the competitive race. It is the extension to Asia, to Africa, to South America, of the mode of living which prevails

where civilization has done its best. Commerce is the beginning of it, and commerce means the creation of ties which tend to bind men together. They make war easy, one would think, for they afford myriad provocations to war. On the other hand, they tend to make the damage created by war so much in excess of any possible gains as in time to make war practically unknown.

But commerce is only the beginning. We are to see in the outlying regions of the earth an assimilation to our own methods of life. We are to see Asia produce things as we produce them. The Asiatic is imitative, assimilative; he will use machinery as we use it, he will become a competitor with ourselves, he will export goods. Enormous changes will take place in the face of the commercial world. And the outcome of it all will be an assimilation of economic status, the extension to Asia of the benefits of our civilization.

That is not the end; that is what will come in the middle period. Fifty years is nothing in history, and I should say that in fifty years one could see much of this consummated. There are other things that will not consummate themselves in five hundred years: the comprehensive name for all of them is the attainment of a true economic equilibrium in the world as a whole,—a condition in which no further assimilation and transformation is necessary, in which all the quarters of the globe, producing things in the same way, doing business on the same plan, standing on the same economic level, shall engage in a neck-and-neck race of civilization.

What does all this mean specifically, as bearing on the question of an international court? If once we get such a tribunal as is proposed by the American scheme at The Hague, we shall be compelled, sooner or later, to refer all disputes to its jurisdiction. The industrial development of the outlying regions of the earth is to thrust upon the nations of the world a thousand commercial entanglements, to create differences of interest of a pecuniary sort, to place the nations where if they would quarrel over dollars, they would do it every day in the year, and where if a quarrel about dollars would lead to war, they would be in a condition of perpetual warfare. I can think of no condition whatever so favorable to the growth of tribunals of arbitration as one in which there should be continually arising causes of dispute over which the nations would feel ashamed to resort to violence. If every day in the year we are compelled to adjudicate interests of the minor sort in some other way than by warfare, we establish a precedent that, sooner or later, will compel us to refer all causes to such adjudication,—a precedent which in time will be overwhelming in its coercive power Establish the court. Apply to it a thousand times on small cases, and you will find yourselves compelled to apply to it on large cases. And while you will not be in the millenium, nor particularly near it, you will have entered the portal of the very long, long road that leads to it.

JOHN B. CLARK, LL.D.,
at the Mohonk Conference.

THE VENEZUELA ARBITRATION.

The Venezuela tribunal, so called, familiarly came to its work in Paris last week. The arbitration board is one of great distinction. It consists of Professor de Maartens, the eminent Russian authority on international law; Chief Justice Fuller, of the United States; Baron Russell of Killowen, Chief Justice of England; Sir Richard Collins, Lord Justice of Appeals; and Justice Brewer. Sir Richard Webster and former President Harrison are the leading counsel, respectively, for Great Britain and Venezuela. Sir Richard Webster opened the case for Great Britain last Thursday.

While the briefs are printed, it is understood that they are read in open court, and of course they have the advantage of such elucidation as counsel can make from time to time. The sessions of the court have been fixed for four days in the week. It is said that this was on an intimation by President Harrison that four days of such work were as much as could be expected from people of sense.

The experience of the court already shows the inconvenience of a tribunal manufactured for the purpose. The infelicities of such an arrangement are so many arguments for the creation of a Permanent Tribunal.

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THE VENEZUELA ARBITRATION.

The proceedings of the distinguished court which is to determine, as we hope, the controversy in Venezuela, go on from day to day, tediously enough, as may be supposed, to those who are sitting in the court; and with the indifference, more or less distinctly expressed, of what is known as the general public. The general public is much more interested in Capt. Dreyfus's return, or in the utterances of President Kruger, than it is in a proceeding which would now be called by the leaders of public opinion a "back number." All the same, there was a period, and that not so long ago, when the boundary between Venezuela and Guiana was thought of importance among publicists, and even the "general reader" was willing to give a part of the attention to it which belongs to a great game of football.

The proceeding at Paris is of interest, then, because of the stupendous consequences which might have followed from a collision between the United States and England, on an insignificant territorial question, about which not one hundred people in either nation cared.

It has in truth a special interest because it is an object-lesson as to what can be attained and what cannot be attained under the clumsy system which we have before called the system of "leaving it out to men." That is the phrase which the vernacular of the United States has chosen when two parties in contest create a court for themselves, without precedents, without power, without rules of evidence, and indeed without evidence. It is probable that even with such arrangements the Venezuela arbitration will achieve something. How much more will be achieved when the conference at The Hague gives us the permanent machinery for the calling together of a court which will have precedents, which will have authority, which will have the

right to summon witnesses and the right to cross-examine them!

It may be hoped that the proceedings in the court of arbitration will show what are the rather curious secrets and history of the maps in the English archives bearing on this question. From original papers put into the controversy two years ago, it would seem as if, after some of those maps had been printed, alterations had been made in the plates, and new copies printed, to which, probably by oversight, the old dates were still attached. If this is so, it is rather a curious bit of history, and suggests a certain care in the use of historical documents which has not always been extended to them.

The reader unfamiliar with the arts of printing should understand that while it is scarcely possible for a book to contain a passage written later than the date borne on the title-page of the book (although this is just possible) it very frequently happens that corrections are made in a copper or steel plate, once and again and yet again, after the date is affixed to that plate. There is no method by which the student of a map taken from such a plate can know whether what he sees was put upon the plate before the figures of the date or after. In the examination, for instance, of the early or later maps of this country it will constantly prove that in the correction of the plates from year to year, discoveries or changes on the face of the map will appear for which there is nothing but guesswork to give the correct date.

The easiest way of explaining some of the differences of statement between the English case and the case of Venezuela is to suppose that on the maps used in the English chancelries such changes had been made after the original date was given to which they were ascribed. E. E. A.

Peace hath higher tests for manhood
Than ever battle saw.

—*Whittier.*

AMERICA'S PART IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

The Baroness von Suttner, the authoress whose powerful anti-war novel, "Ground Arms," has produced a remarkable impression on the continent of Europe, and who has just left The Hague, says:

"I am most hopeful of practical results from the Peace Conference. I have already won notable support in Austria, but it is to the great country beyond the sea that we look as the mighty propagandist of peace. I deplore, as do so many Americans themselves, the necessity of the appeal to arms last year. But we are not a peace-at-any-price people. We believe a righteous call to arms is still a necessity of the age, but it is impossible for me to believe there will be any future great resort to arms among civilized people. After the splendid awakening of the Czar, and with the Anglo-Saxons in the van of the peace movement, nothing in that direction is impossible."

These words suggest the great responsibility that rests to-day upon the American people. The inhabitants of the great military nations of Europe are looking to us, to take the lead in the noblest movement of modern times. How will America respond to the appeal?

Our commissioners at the Peace Conference are men of ability; and are doubtless doing all in their power to promote its success, and especially to secure the establishment of a permanent International Court. The administration at Washington is believed to be favorable. But what are we, the people of the United States, doing about it?

We have held public meetings in a few places; some clergymen have taken the matter up; a few newspapers have interested themselves in it. But, whether it be because we have hitherto been free from the curse of militarism, or because we are temporarily dazzled by the successes of our late war with Spain; or because we have become enamored of the brilliant, bullying, imperial policy of

Great Britain; or because we are preoccupied with other things, or sceptical as to the good faith of the Czar, or as to the practicability of the reform;—whatever the reason may be—the American people, for the most part, are strangely indifferent to their great opportunity. A few are unfriendly. The New York *Tribune* allows its London correspondent to allude slightingly to "the cuckoo song of peace at The Hague." The *Army and Navy Journal*, with amusing and childish petulance, sneers at the advocates of peace, makes light of the Conference, and insists that it is simply an attempt by Russia to revive the Holy Alliance; and that the United States, by taking part in it, is becoming involved in one of the most entangling of foreign alliances.

If this country is really to take the lead in the great movement, this indifference must be overcome; and the hostility, secret or open, converted into friendliness. We may be sure that Congress will not force reforms of any kind upon a reluctant or indifferent people.

But what can the plain citizens, the men and women who would like to help the cause, do, to contribute to this result? They can, in the first place, consider and realize more deeply the vital importance of the great Conference, at The Hague, and its vast possibilities—and then they can impress the fact upon those with whom they come in contact. They can insist on looking on the bright side, with faith and hope; and they can use their influence, in chance conversation at dinner and lunch, in car, and store, and office, to inspire hope and interest, and to discourage sneers and pessimism, in others. They can help to keep the matter constantly before the public. Almost every man or woman belongs to some association that ought to be interested. The Young Men's Christian Associations, the Epworth Leagues, the King's Daughters, the Christian Endeavorers, the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution, the Colonial Dames, and all the patriotic societies, the innumerable Womens' Clubs, the myriad debating and literary societies, the Labor Unions; all of these should be aroused to their great opportunity, and, if aroused, can wield a tremendous influence. Some can write articles for the papers and magazines, or draw up and circulate petitions, or organize more public meetings, or Arbitration Leagues. And all can and should keep themselves posted on the progress of the movement and the Conference, by reading regularly the PEACE CRUSADE, or some similar paper. Above all, let no intelligent man or woman make the fatal mistake of assuming that he or she is too obscure to do anything towards creating the overwhelming body of aggressive, enthusiastic public opinion that is needed. It is the peculiar business and duty and privilege of each one of them,—of you and of me,—to do something. We cannot divest ourselves of the responsibility by carelessly placing it on the shoulders of the President or of Congress.

If America is to make the expected response to the appeal of our European brethren, — a response which shall influence the action of the Government of the United States, and indirectly that of other governments,—we, and such as we, must make it. Shall that appeal be made in vain?

D. G. H., JR.

FROM A PRIVATE CORRESPONDENT.

"I have had no first-hand opportunity of learning much of the Conference since I left The Hague, but I feel confident that Arbitration, with a Permanent Tribunal of some adequate sort, will weather the storms. The dispatches sent to the London papers, some of which are very full and intelligent, I can read in the light of information gained at The Hague, and they all tend to encourage the belief expressed above.

"The opposition of Germany is, in part, I believe, factitious and diplomatic,—due in some degree at least to the Emperor's desire to display his independence and assert his

influence. I think he will in the end come into some arrangement,—for it seems fairly plain that the other nations can and will go on without him. When we consider that the Conference consists primarly of a superior body of five great nations: England, United States, Russia, France, Germany, and that four of these are desirous of a definite result, it is evident that Germany's power to baulk action is limited; and it is now said that Austria and Italy, her partners in the Dreibund, do not follow her in this matter.

"Furthermore, I shall be surprised and disappointed if something is not done in the check (at least) of armament. Russia cannot let the subject go by the board. She will make a new move, I think, as soon as arbitration makes port.

"Of course, I write by ship, against the telegraph, and you will know more than this by the time this can reach you, but still I write with some confidence."

THE JOURNAL OF THE CONFERENCE.

We are obliged to put this number of the CRUSADE to press without a full account of the ceremonies of the Fourth of July at the tomb of Hugo Grotius.

The plan was first proposed by Dr. Andrew White. His original idea was to move in the conference at its last sitting to make a pilgrimage to Delft to pay honor to the memory of the writer in whose great book ("De Jure Pacis et Belli") first appears the proposal to settle disputes by arbitration. Afterward the suggestion was modified into the proposed tribute from the new world to the great thinker of Holland.

A wreath was placed on the tomb, a splendid work of art, made by the first court jeweller of Berlin. It is about three feet in diameter. On one side are oak leaves in silver, with acorns in gold, and on the other are laurel leaves in silver. In the centre are two shields in silver gilt, with the arms of the United States and the Netherlands, and an inscription which Ambassador White has written.

The programme of the ceremonies at Delft included selections from the national music of Holland and the United States; an opening address by Jonkheer van Karnebeek, senior Dutch delegate and Governor of the province of Zeeland; an address and presentation of the tribute to Grotius on behalf of the United States by Mr. White; acceptance of the American tribute on behalf of Queen Wilhelmina and the Dutch Government by Dr. W. H. de Beaufort, Vice-President of the conference; and an address of thanks by Seth Low of the American delegation.

July 5. The American delegates have scored a great success in obtaining from the peace conference an unanimous vote in favor of having the question of private property at sea in time of war dealt with at a special conference to be summoned hereafter.

The committee also adopted a resolution that the question of the determination of the rights and duties of neutral states should be placed upon the programme of the future conference.

July 7. The third committee, this morning, discussed the scheme for the mediation and arbitration convention drawn up by the examining committee.

The scheme is headed "Drafts of convention for the pacific settlement of international conflicts." The first part deals with the maintenance of general peace; the second with arbitration.

During the discussion the plenary committee amended Art. 8 so as to provide that when powers between whom there is a serious dispute accept mediation they cease all direct relations in regard to the disputed question, which shall be considered exclusively referred to the mediatory powers.

Three additional paragraphs regarding the permanent court were also adopted at the request of Prof. Zorn, Count Nigra, and Sir Julian Pauncefote, as follows:

Members of the permanent court shall enjoy and exercise all the functions of diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The bureau is authorized to place its officers and organization at the disposal of the signatory powers for the proper exercise of any special arbitral jurisdiction.

The signatory powers undertake to communicate to the bureau a copy of any stipulation regarding arbitration decided between them and all judgments of the permanent court, and they undertake to communicate to the bureau the laws, regulations and documents setting forth the execution of judgments pronounced by the court. The proposed convention, without the changes made, follows:

Article 1. With the object of preventing, as far as possible, recourse to force in international relations, the signatory powers agree to use all endeavors to effect, by pacific means, a settlement of the differences which may arise among them.

Art. 2. The signatory powers decided that, in cases of serious difference or conflict, they will, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances permit, to the good offices or mediation of one or several friendly powers.

Art. 3. Independently of this, the signatory powers deem it useful that several of the powers not committed to the arbitration scheme, shall, on their own initiative, offer as far as circumstances permit, their good offices or mediation to the contending states. The right of offering their good offices belongs to powers not connected with the conflict, even during the course of hostilities, which act can never be regarded as an unfriendly act.

Art 4. The part of mediator consists in reconciling conflicting claims, and appeasing resentment which may have risen between contending states.

Art. 5. The functions of mediator cease from the moment it may be stated by one of the contending parties, or by the mediator himself, that the compromise or basis of an amicable understanding proposed by him has not been accepted.

Art. 6. Good offices and mediation have the exclusive character of counsel and are devoid of obligatory force.

Art. 7. The acceptance of mediation, unless otherwise stipulated, may have the effect of interrupting the obligation of preparing for war. If the acceptance supervenes, after the opening of hostilities, it shall not interrupt, unless by a convention of a contrary tenor, military operations that may be proceeding.

Art. 8. The signatory powers agree in recommending the application of special mediation in the event of threatened interuption of peace between members. Contending states may each choose a power, to which they will entrust the mission of entering into negotiation with a power chosen by the other side, with the object of preventing a rupture of pacific relations, or, in the event of hostilities, of restoring peace.

Arts. 9 to 14 provide for the institution of a commission of inquiry for the verification of facts in cases of disputes not affecting the vital interest of states. The report of an inquiry commission will not force an arbitral judgment, leaving the contending parties full liberty to either conclude an amicable arrangement on the basis of the report or have recourse afterward to mediation or arbitration.

Arts. 14 to 19 set forth the general object of and benefits it is hoped to derive from the arbitration court and declare signing the convention implies an undertaking to submit in good faith to arbitral judgment.

Art. 20. With the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences not regulated by diplomatic means, the signatory powers undertake to organize in the following manner a permanent court of arbitration accessible at all times and exercising its functions, unless otherwise stipulated, between the contending parties in conformity with the rules of procedure inserted in the present convention.

Art. 21. This court is to have competency in all arbitration cases, unless the contending parties come to an understanding for the es-

tablishment of special arbitration jurisdiction by consent of the contending parties.

Art. 22. An international bureau established at The Hague, and placed under the direction of a permanent secretary-general, will serve as the office of the court. It will be the intermediary for communications concerning meetings. The court is to have custody of archives and the management of all administrative affairs.

Art. 23. Each of the signatory powers shall appoint within three months of the ratification of the present article not more than four persons of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral consideration and prepared to accept the functions of arbitrator. The persons thus nominated will be entered as members of the court on a list which will be communicated by the bureau to all the signatory powers. Any modification of the list will be brought by the bureau to the knowledge of the signatory powers. Two or more powers may agree together regarding the nomination of one or more members and the same person may be chosen by different powers. Members of the court are to be appointed for the term of six years. The appointments are renewable. In case of the death or resignation of a member of the court, the vacancy is to be filled in accordance with the regulations made for the original nomination.

Art. 24. The signatory powers who desire to apply to the court for a settlement of differences shall select from the general list a number of arbitrators to be fixed by agreement. They will notify the bureau of their intention of applying to the court and give the names of the arbitrators they may have selected. In the absence of a convention to the contrary, an arbitral tribunal is to be constituted in accordance with the rules of Art. 31. Arbitrators thus nominated to form an arbitral tribunal for a matter or question will meet on the date fixed by the contending parties.

Art. 25. The tribunal will usually sit at The Hague, but may sit elsewhere

Art. 26. Powers not signing the convention may apply to the court under the conditions prescribed by the present convention.

Art. 17. The signatory powers may consider it their duty to call the existence of the permanent court to the attention of any of their friends between whom a conflict is threatening, which must always be regarded as a tender of good offices.

Art. 28. A permanent council, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory powers residing at The Hague and the Netherland foreign minister, who will exercise the functions of president, will be constituted at The Hague as soon as possible after the ratification of the present act. The council will be charged to establish and organize the international bureau, which will remain under its direction and control. The council will notify the powers of the constitution of the court and arrange its installation, draw up the standing orders and other necessary regulations; will decide questions likely to arise in regard to the working of the tribunal; have absolute powers concerning the appointment, suspension or dismissal of functionaries or employees; will fix the emoluments and salaries and control the general expenditures. The presence of five members at duly convened meetings will constitute a quorum. Decisions are to be taken by a majority of the votes. The council will address annually to the signatory powers a report of the labors of the court, the working of its administrative services and of its expenditure.

Art. 29. The expenses of the bureau are to be borne by the signatory powers in the proportion fixed for the international bureau of the universal postal union.

Art. 30. The powers who accept arbitration will sign a special act, clearly defining the object of the dispute, as well as the scope of the arbitrators. The powers' act confirms the undertaking of the parties to

submit in good faith to the arbitration judgment.

Art. 31. Arbitration functions may be conferred upon a single arbitrator or on several arbitrators designated by the parties at their discretion, or chosen from among the members of the permanent court established by the present act. Unless otherwise decided, the formation of the arbitation tribunal is to be effected as follows:

Each party will appoint two arbitrators, who will choose a chief arbitrator. In case of a division, the selection is to be entrusted to a third power whom the parties will designate, if an agreement is not effected in this manner, each party is to designate a different power, and the choice of a chief arbitrator is to devolve upon them.

Art. 32. When an arbitrator is a sovereign or head of a state, the arbitral procedure depends exclusively on his august decision.

Art. 33. The chief arbitrator is president de jure. When the tribunal does not contain a chief of arbitration, the tribunal may appoint its own president. He may be designated by the contending parties, or, failing this, by the arbitration tribunal.

Arts. 34 to 50 provide for the appointment of councillors the selection of the languages to be employed and the rules of procedure in the court, the sittings of which are to be behind closed doors.

Art. 51. A judgment agreed to by a majority vote is to be set forth in writing, giving the full reasons, and is to be signed by each member, the minority recording its dissent and signing it.

Arts. 52 and 53 provide that the decision of the court is to be read at a public sitting in the presence of the agents or counsel of the contending parties, who shall finally decide the matter at issue and close the arbitration proceedings.

The concluding clauses relate to the revision of proceedings in the case of the discovery of new facts and provide for the payment of expenses.

HUGO GROTIUS.

It cannot be said that Hugo Grotius is forgotten when men think of the great benefactors of the human race. At this moment the great solemnity of the Fourth of July at The Hague recalls popular attention to him. He was born on the 10th of April, 1583. He was a student at Leyden and it is remembered that he was a pupil there under the celebrated Joseph Scaliger. In the Holland of those days men began life early, and at only fifteen years of age he accompanied Barneveldt on an embassy to France, and there, it is said, he won the special attention of Henry IV. In the religious disputes between the Remonstrants and their opponents, Grotius supported Barneveldt in his truly catholic and tolerant views. Barneveldt's death meant the imprisonment of Grotius.

The story will be well remembered of the effort of his wife, who had him carried from the prison in the chest used for conveying books and linen, while she took his place as a captive. He found refuge in Paris under the protection of Louis XIII. There he wrote the book which finally became "De Jure Belli et Pacis," and was originally published in 1625. This book first took form as "De Jure Prædæ," bearing especially on the great question of to-day regarding plunder at sea. It would be fair to say that it is the standard authority on international law.

Grotius entered the Swedish service in 1634, and was the Swedish ambassador in France until 1645. He died at Rostock on the 29th of August of that year.

The life of Grotius is a very remarkable illustration of the statement which we have more than once made in this journal of the worth of any great expression of eternal truth, whether it come from a private citizen or whether it be avouched by the formalities attendant on the proceedings of courts. The great authorities in inter-

national law are not the men who have written treaties; they are not the soldiers who have compelled the nations to make treaties. They are quiet writers, seeking the truth and finding the truth, and proclaiming it with the majesty which belongs to truth. It is by a most fortunate concurrence of circumstances that at this late period Grotius can receive the honors of the world as one of the heralds of what the Czar calls "general peace among the nations."

FRANKLIN ON PRIVATEERING.

The discussions at The Hague with regard to privateering and the capture of private property at sea recall to the memory the celebrated article which in January, 1783, Franklin read to the Peace Commissioners who made the treaty of that year:

"If war should hereafter arise between Great Britain and the United States, which God forbid, the merchants of either country then residing in the other shall be allowed to remain nine months to collect their debts and settle their affairs, and may depart freely, carrying off all their effects without molestation or hindrance. And all fishermen, all cultivators of the earth, and all artisans and manufacturers unarmed, and inhabiting unfortified towns, villages, or places, who labor for the common subsistence and benefit of mankind, and peaceably follow their respective employments, shall be allowed to continue the same, and shall not be molested by the armed force of the enemy in whose power by the events of the war they may happen to fall; but if anything is necessary to be taken from them for the use of such armed force, the same shall be paid for at a reasonable price. And all merchants or traders with their unarmed vessels, employed in commerce, exchanging the products of different places, and thereby rendering the necessaries, conveniences, and comforts of human life more easy to obtain and more general, shall be allowed to pass freely, unmolested. And neither of the powers, parties to this treaty, shall grant or issue any commission to any private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy such trading ships, or interrupt such commerce."

In 1785, in a letter to Vaughan, Franklin worked out the same idea:

"Justice is as strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang, as when single; and a nation that makes an unjust war in only a great gang. After employing your people in robbing the Dutch, strange is it that, being put out of that employ by peace, they still continue robbing, and rob one another! *Piraterie*, as the French call it, or privateering, is the universal bent of the English nation, at home or abroad, wherever settled. No less than seven hundred privateers were, it is said, commissioned in the last war! They were fitted out by merchants, to prey upon other merchants who had never done them any injury. Is there probably any one of these privateering merchants of London, who were so ready to rob the merchants of Amsterdam, that would not readily plunder another London merchant of the next street, if he could do it with impunity? The avidity, the *alieni appetens*, is the same; it is the fear alone of the gallows which makes the difference. How then can a nation which, among the honestest of its people has so many thieves by inclination, and whose government encouraged and commissioned no less than seven hundred gangs of robbers; how can such a nation have the face to condemn the crime in individuals, and hang up twenty of them in a morning? It naturally puts one in mind of a Newgate anecdote. One of the prisoners complained that in the night somebody had taken his buckles out of his shoes. 'What, the devil!' says another, 'have we then *thieves* among us? It must not be suffered; let us search out the rogue, and pump him to death.'"

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THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONFERENCE.

The writers for the foreign press are perhaps stating their own wish in supposing that the conference at The Hague will adjourn within a few days. We see no evidence here that any such rapid conclusion to its discussion will be attained or will be attempted. It should be observed that up till this time most of the discussions have taken place in the separate committees, that these committees have to bring their reports before the general body, and that modifications will undoubtedly be suggested and most probably will be made when that general body takes action.

Once more, as Americans, we are interested in looking at the similar conditions of affairs in the great convention of 1787, which established a permanent tribunal for this country. As one looks at the proceedings in the earlier weeks of that convention, he sees that the earlier discussions were but a preparation, of which the result does not appear for many weeks afterwards. It is not until these separate plans have been hammered over and mutually adjusted that the general discussion takes place before the convention, and the convention then makes many changes, some of which are very important. The haste of some of these changes has made difficulties in construction, although as a whole the constitution of the United States may be considered as admirably well drawn.

What should be borne especially in mind seems to be the prospects that when the conference has attained a visible result on which it can agree with some approach to unanimity, when it has drawn up this result in a form to be presented to the world, its duty will not be done.

We are glad to see evidences that the leading spirits in the conference determine that

it shall adjourn to a day fixed. Not that it is probable that the same members may be appointed again, but that a new conference shall sit, one year, two years, or three years from the adjournment of this, before which shall be presented reports on the more important subjects which are left for determination.

In this case no one need grieve bitterly if some very important matters should be thrown over till that time. This, for instance, of the seizure of property upon the seas, is a subject which, having waited for a hundred and twenty-five years since definite attention was called to it, may well wait one or two years more before a formal conclusion may be arrived at. As for the great topic, — not the greatest of all, but still of the first importance,—with which the Czar's rescript closes, the same may be said. He suggests there the hope of a formal statement of "the principles on which rest the security of states and the welfare of peoples." Thus far, no authoritative attempt has been made for a codification of these principles. We lay wreaths on the tomb of Grotius, and we study his volumes; we write books on international law, and we quote the decision of this court in Great Britain or that court in America, or a letter from the Empress of Russia. But nowhere have we any statement in words of what are even the principles on which international law is built. The present conference will be helping forward the great cause if it will refer to two or three of the most accomplished students in its body the preparation of such a formal statement of the central principles which really govern the intercourse of states.

SEA OR LAND.

We have been compelled until today to postpone some abridgement of Dr. White's statement of the American principle with regard to property on the sea. We are glad to publish it today. It cannot be long before we shall receive it in full.

As a matter for consideration at home, the subject is one which cannot be discussed too early or too often.

One cannot move freely in the circles of the army or the navy, one cannot talk with students at West Point or Annapolis, without seeing that the question long since engaged the attention of the thoughtful men who command the forces on which the country relies in war.

A very curious question it is to such men. Why should a military force be obliged to keep such delicate information regarding every load of hay which is consumed by cavalry? Why is a sentinel stationed to prevent marauding when the detachment is quartered near a warehouse, or even a chicken roost, if on the ocean yonder, only four miles from shore, Jack is putting a prize crew on the Indiaman he has despoiled, and is sending her into harbor for ajudication?

It would be difficult to explain to 'Arry in the English army or to Stephen Boone in the 99th Kentucky why he was not to wring a chicken's neck on the land, when he receives a letter from his brother Jack, to say that he has been awarded one hundred and twenty-three pounds, or four hundred and fifty-six dollars, for his share of prize money, coming from the capture of the "*Golden Fleece*."

In old times the difference was explained, perhaps not justified, by the theory that the "gentlemen of England who fight upon the seas" were exposed to dangers unknown by the other gentlemen of England who fight upon the land. But we have changed all that. The arts of protection at sea have advanced farther than the spade and pickaxe have yet gone upon the land. After Admiral Dewey came out of the battle of Manila with no injury but that sustained by the chaplain who was looking out of a port hole, it was difficult to urge that the naval service involves more exposure in war than a service which requires the capture of Santiago.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE.

My Dear Doctor Hale:—

Just after leaving for Europe I received your kind letter asking me if I would not write for the Peace Crusade something about the Peace Congress. I did not expect then to go to The Hague, but while fulfilling my special duties as representative of the United States on the International Prison Commission I have found it in the line of my travel and opportunity not only to visit The Hague, but also to come into personal relation and contact with some of the principal leaders in favor of peace and arbitration in different parts of Europe. Perhaps you will allow me to write a rambling letter giving some impressions of my journey.

Though I have been engaged principally with penologists and with leaders in philanthropic and social reforms, it is just as true on this side of the ocean as on our side, that one cannot pass into any circle of humanitarian work or interest without touching or overlapping some other circle. Who, for instance, in Paris, engaged in any philanthropic work on the broadest lines, does not know of Frédéric Passy, that venerable and devoted humanitarian who is the Nestor of the Peace Movement in France, and whose influence has been felt everywhere in Europe? I shall not forget the ardent address he made at the Interparliamentary Conference at Brussels two years ago, and the enthusiastic reception he received. I regret to say that he is suffering now from an affliction of the eyes; but intellectually his eye is not dim nor his natural force abated and his heart is always young. It was 32 years ago that Monsieur Passy established at Paris *La Ligue Internationale de la Paix*, which later took the name of *La Societé francaise d'Arbitrage entre nations*. This society has published a review entitled "L'Arbitrage entre nations," and by its activity and interest has done much to disseminate ideas of arbitration in Europe during these years. Before that time Victor Hugo, Emile de Girardin, Joseph Garnier, Athanase Coquerel fils, had done something to improve the atmosphere. There are now some sixteen peace societies in France.

At Berlin I was mainly occupied with the police system of that city and had no time to discuss the question of Peace. If Germany has not taken the lead in this matter, it has not failed to join hands with the promoters of arbitration. A *Friedensverein* was founded at Frankfort in 1886. Another was founded in Wiesbaden in 1892 and in the same year *Die Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft* was founded at Berlin with Dr. Max Hirsch as its President and with sixty-nine groups extending all over Germany. Another German *Verein* for international peace, originally founded in 1874, was re-organized in 1895 and now stands for compulsory arbitration. Austria also has half a dozen societies and groups.

I was agreeably surprised in Italy to find that there are no less than 15 organized societies and committees in different cities. The new Italy has suffered not a little from the growth of militarism and from the assumption that a large navy and a large army have been necessary to give it a standing among the powers. Its growth in trade and in the arts of peace has suffered through this ambition, but Italy is making great progress in education, and I think its people are coming to be less ambitious of military glory than of social prosperity. Though I had no time in Rome to visit the office of the organization, it was gratifying to see that it had its sign out. In Milan, however, I had the personal pleasure of an interview with Signor Moneta, editor of the *Secolo*, who is the president of the Lombardy branch of the Peace Society. On the opening of the Peace Conference at The Hague on the 18th of May, the *Secolo* had a fine editorial of the right ring, giving one of the best, and one of the warmest greetings to

the Conference that I have seen anywhere. Any journalist worthy of the name, will of course appreciate the significance of the conference which is still holding at The Hague, but Signor Moneta writes not merely as a journalist who is viewing the course of events but as one who is trying to shape them towards peace through arbitration. I happened to have in my pocket a copy of the treaty of 1871, between the United States and Italy, in which it is agreed that in case of war between the two countries, the rights of private property on the sea between the two nations shall be respected. It is the only treaty, I believe, in existence in which two nations agree to respect this right. I am glad that the Americans at The Hague have stood for this principle. At present it does not seem as if it would be accepted, but this need not prevent the United States from seeking to secure such agreements with other nations through special treaties. The difficulty is that in time of war treaties are easily abrogated.

Bern is a centre of international relations and the seat of several international bureaus. I can think of at least half a dozen international organizations or Unions which have permanent bureaus here, namely, The International Telegraph Union, The Postal Union, The Railway Union, the Union to Promote the Rights of Literary Property, The International Peace Bureau, and The International Prison Commission. Though I came to Bern specially with reference to the last-mentioned organization and to confer with its secretary Dr. Guillaume, I was delighted to have the opportunity to meet Monsieur Elie Ducommun, the honorary secretary of The International Peace Bureau. Monsieur Ducommun is a man of persistent and untiring devotion to this idea, and abiding confidence as to its ultimate success. Though holding a responsible and absorbing position in the administration of a great railroad, Monsieur Ducommun has devoted his leisure time for many years to the interests of this society. His gifts of administration, arrangement, order, and classification are admirably shown in the organization and conduct of the bureau. Every book, every document, every newspaper clipping that has been published and gathered since the organization of the bureau, has been carefully indexed and filed. This work and the indexing and conducting of a large correspondence keeps Monsieur Ducommun's secretary constantly employed. The Bureau at Bern is not merely a depositary, but, if I may use such a figure with reference to an instrument of peace, it is an arsenal, a storehouse of supplies for conducting a peace propaganda. From this centre, a bi-monthly report or journal is sent forth and radiates to all parts of Europe; documents, reports, and pamphlets are sent wherever they may be needed. The bureau was organized the 1st of December, 1891. The government of Switzerland contributes 1000 francs a year, Norway 600. Denmark, two years ago, made a donation of 2,500 francs. Outside of these three Governments, the expenses of the bureau are met by contributions from national societies and individuals. Its expenses are about 9,000 francs a year. It is interesting to remember that Nobel, the Norwegian inventor of dynamite, was deeply interested in the diffusion of peace. On his death, it was found that he had provided that a large part of his fortune should be divided into five portions, the interest of which should be given annually, first for the best discovery in physical science; secondly, for the best discovery in chemistry; thirdly, for the most important discovery in medicine; fourthly, for a literary work dealing with some theme of ideality or beauty—I don't remember how it was defined;—and fifthly, for the cause of peace and the reduction of armaments. The capital available for these five objects is some 40,000,000 francs. The first division will not be made till 1901, and the friends of the International Peace Bureau naturally hope that

as it is the greatest single agency for promoting peace and arbitration, it may receive this bequest, which will be annually some 40,000 francs.

My stay at The Hague was interrupted by a telegram from London announcing the death of Mrs. Ellen C. Johnson of Sherborn, Mass., one of the most remarkable women of our day, and at the head of the finest prison for women in the world. I had only time, therefore to get the atmosphere of The Hague, and it is too early to write the history of the conference. On every hand, however, I am assured of the strong impression which has been made by the American delegates, co-operating with their English brethren in favor of arbitration, which it seems to me will be sooner or later the most practical outcome and most important result of the conference.

Since coming to London, I have had a chance to see that earnest veteran advocate of peace, Mr. Hodgson Pratt, and also have lunched with my friend the Hon. William Randall Cremer, who has done more than anybody in England to develop a sentiment for arbitration in Parliament and among the working classes. I had the honor in Washington of presenting Mr. Cremer to the President when he came armed with an enormous petition of the English working classes in favor of arbitration. Mr. Cremer, too, has been one of the inspiring souls of the Interparliamentary Conference for Arbitration which I attended two years ago at Brussels. Yesterday afternoon on the delightful lawns of the Lady Rothschild at the great reception to the members of the Women's International Congress, I met Mr. Stead who was to return to The Hague last night. Like nearly all the friends of peace with whom I have talked, Mr. Stead is warmly confident of the vital results which will spring from the peace congress, especially in the direction of arbitration.

The result of my own observations in England and on the Continent is a strong conviction that the peace sentiment is becoming more widely diffused, more efficiently organized, and more practicable in its aims. That it has found expression in this great conference at The Hague is one of the most significant events in the close of this century. You who have so persistently labored in America in behalf of a permanent court of arbitration may rejoice in the prospect of realizing what seemed to so many but an idle dream.

Cordially yours,

S. J. Barrows.

London, July 5, 1899.

THE TREATIES.

We have been sorry to find that in cities where we should have expected better things the public libraries have not yet furnished their shelves with Dr. Moore's History and Digest of Arbitration.

The book, in six handsome volumes, not only contains the text of our arbitration treaties, but they are illustrated by copious notes by Dr. Moore on other international arbitrations than those in which America has been a party.

It is rather a cynical thing to say, but in public libraries generally, public documents are considered a nuisance. Because they cost no money generally, the librarian, excepting always the particular person who is now reading these words, wishes they did not exist.

In the present case librarians must not pass this book with the same condemnation. They will have to pay for it, and they ought to pay for it, but they will have what they ought to have, and which they should have had before now. The volumes were issued early in the winter.

AT THE HAGUE.

On the 22nd of July the Arbitration Committee of the Conference adopted as a whole the arbitration scheme, the digest of which we published in our last number. It is believed that the plan will be submitted to the full conference within a few days.

When the question regarding private property at sea came before the Second Committee the discussion was opened by Dr. White, of the American delegation.

In the course of a clear and eloquent statement of the American case Mr. White said that the United States government had accepted the invitation to participate in the conference with alacrity because of the opportunity it was expected the conference would afford for preaching the true faith regarding the immunity from capture of private property at sea. He admitted, however, that the United States government recognized it would be hopeless to expect any decisive result from this conference, owing to three causes: first, absence of instructions from powerful governments; second, doubts as to the competence of the conference; and, third, the length of the time necessary for a discussion of all the bearings of the case.

Mr. White frankly admitted the difficulties involved in deciding what constituted contraband of war, but insisted that these supply one of the best arguments for a full and prompt discussion. The suffering and losses which seizures entailed were immense, while the effect upon the ultimate result of war was almost nothing.

Referring to the experience of the United States in the war of the rebellion, he said that only three confederate cruisers did anything of importance, but they captured 169 vessels, quadrupled the rate of insurance between America and Great Britain, and caused the transfer of half a million tons of American shipping to British bottoms. The final result was that the whole American marine was virtually swept out of existence.

"If that resulted from the operation of three poorly equipped little steamers," he continued, "what would happen with the means at the disposal of the greater nations to-day? Yet every one knows that this privateering had not the slightest effect in ending, or even shortening, the war, nor would it have had any even if the losses had been ten times greater. The only real effect is gained by warships in maintaining a blockade. Nowadays the transfer of goods by land is so general that the interruption by sea as a rule does nothing to promote the ending of war; but that interruption may destroy accumulations of human wealth and skill requiring a generation to make good, while the losses cannot be confined to belligerents alone, but must affect more or less directly the whole world."

Mr. White warmly repudiated the supposition that the Americans were animated by selfish considerations. They were eminently practical, he said, but not less prominently devoted to great ideals. This he illustrated by referring to the enormous sacrifices made during the civil war, and the devotion of the Americans to arbitration; but the question he was urging upon the delegates, he asserted, was one of right, justice, and progress for the whole world, and this all Americans felt deeply. Nor could the acceptance of the American proposal injure any nation; on the contrary, it would strengthen all.

Mr. White concluded with an eloquent appeal to the jurists, diplomatists and statesmen of all nations assembled in the conference to take the subject under careful consideration, declaring in the words of Count Nesselrode, that "the addition of this principle to international law would be a crown of glory to the world's diplomacy."

The resolution was put and carried without opposition, but with reservations on the part of Great Britain, France and Russia.

The plenary conference assembled subsequently and accepted all the recommendations of the committee.

The American delegation is much gratified at the result. The delegates could not have anticipated a practicable issue at this time. The maximum success possible was a full and free opportunity of placing the American view on record and of continuing unbroken the tradition of a century of American protest in behalf of progressive ideas in international law. This result, which at one

time appeared impossible, owing to almost insuperable difficulties, is now triumphantly attained.

NATIONAL POWERS.

The American Constitution defines the word *National* for Americans, and they familiarly use the definition in conversation.

In addressing the children of Boston at one of the Old South lectures, Mr. Hale gave them the following form for the convenient recollection of the seven most important points entrusted to the nation, and taken away from the local governments:

In the passage of a hundred years, Americans have grown into the life of the Constitution, so that certain words in our language have a different meaning for us than they have for an Englishman.

Such are the words National and Local.

An American would say, as a matter of course, that public education is a local matter, and that it is not national. But in itself there is no reason in the nature of things why education should be regulated by state authorities as in the United States, or by national authorities as in France. But the habit of a century, formed under the Constitution, makes us Americans consider this arrangement as settled forever.

One of the most important matters for the Constitutional Convention to determine, was the distinction, thus made, between the National duties, the duties of the nation, and Local duties, the duties of the state.

It would be fair to say that the establishment of the Supreme Court was the most important achievement of the convention, and this definition of National and of Local duties the second.

Now young people will be wise, if they will, very early in life, commit to memory a list of the important National duties. Observe that duties not intrusted to the National government are reserved to the state governments, if there be no mention of them in the Constitution itself.

The *first* National duty is the regulation of commerce with foreign nations, and among the states.

Second, Coining money, as money is the first tool of commerce.

Third, Correspondence and negotiation with foreign nations. Carolina must not be corresponding with Queen Victoria while Massachusetts is. All communication with foreign nations belongs to the Nation, and the states and individuals must abstain. Among foreign nations come in the Indian tribes.

Fourth, Correspondence with foreign nations means war and peace, and so Congress has power to declare war—Congress, observe, and not the President—and so to support armies and a navy. No state may do this. So Congress must suppress piracy and felonies on the high seas.

Fifth, In this it has its own right to collect revenue. It is not dependent on the separate states for money. And, because it regulates foreign commerce, Congress only may collect import and export duties. It may borrow money if necessary.

Sixth, Only the Nation may admit, by naturalization, people born abroad to the rights of the citizen.

Seventh, Congress may have full rule over the District of Columbia. This is so that no single State may over-awe or control it.

Five of these powers relate to the world outside. Two relate to the states alone. The five outside ones are:—

Commerce, including the Post-office.

Coinage.

Correspondence with other nations.

War.

Taxes,—because we must have the sinews of war.

And the two home powers are Naturalization of Citizens and the care of the District of Columbia.

Other powers spring out of these and out of one broad clause that Congress may provide for the general welfare. Thus the weather map is issued by Congress, because

it provides for the general welfare. But if the State of Massachusetts wanted a weather map of its own it could publish it.

The seven important powers are,
Commerce,
Coin,
Correspondence with the rest of the world,
War,
Taxes,
Naturalization,
The District of Columbia.

As dependent on these comes in the management of the public lands,—which belong to all the States.

POSTSCRIPT.

We have received by telegraph of July 24 an abridged statement of the "final act" as proposed by the Committee to the Congress. It is signed by all the plenary delegates, and contains the following five expressions of opinion:

1. The conference considers that limitations of the military charges which at present oppress the world as greatly to be desired for the increase of material and moral welfare of mankind.

2. The conference expresses the opinion that the rights and duties of neutrals should be inscribed on the programme of a conference to be held at an early date.

3. The conference expresses the opinion that questions relative to the type and caliber of rifles and naval artillery, as examined by it, should be the subject of study by the different governments, with a view of arriving at a uniform solution by a future conference.

4. The conferenoe expresses the wish that an early conference be called to revise the Geneva convention.

5. The conferenoe has resolved that questions relating to the inviolability of private property in war on land and the bombardment of towns or villages in naval war be reserved for future conferences.

THE EFFECT OF MILITARISM.

The force of a nation depends upon its being well fed; and its being well fed depends upon the intelligence and integrity of its merchants, and its freedom from destructive taxation, induced by that constant preparation for war which is more destructive than war itself. The national taxation of this country has been, for twenty years, five dollars a head. Great Britain, the lightest taxed nation in Europe, pays ten dollars a head of national taxation, and is now, under the influence of militarism, to pay thirteen dollars a head. France pays fifteen to eighteen dollars, Germany over ten; and poor Italy is so taxed, even to a third of her product, that there are by the census to-day, a hundred thousand people in Italy diseased under the curse of the *pellagra*, a hunger disease.

If you would witness the evils of militarism, go to Russia, go to Germany. On the great church which has been built on the spot where the Czar was assassinated, you will see, instead of the scaffold, to be mounted by ladders, which he put up on new buildings, a platform winding round and round, at an easy grade, from the street to the top of the building. You will see the same in Austria and in Germany. What is it for? In order to enable the women who mix the mortar to carry the loads of mortar and bricks up the long platform, where the men at the top,—the few who are not in the army—may lay the bricks in the wall. See the woman in the field, harnessed with a cow, and a man standing by or driving them in a plough. See the women doing the scavenger work of the street. And where are the men? Wasting their time in camp and barrack in this constant preparation for war, which not only puts a soldier on the back of every man, but on the back of every woman, in the land. Let us beware how we encourage a military caste or breed up a military spirit.

HON. EDWARD ATKINSON,
at the Mohonk Conference.

THE PEACE CRUSADE.

The Peace Crusade.

THE PEACE CRUSADE RECORD WILL CONTAIN THE LATEST INFORMATION ACCESSIBLE REGARDING THE MOVEMENT OF NATIONS FOR PERMANENT PEACE.

AUGUST 9.] **PUBLISHED FORTNIGHTLY.** [1899

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LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 1 Beacon Street, BOSTON.

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This sheet, which we have entitled "The Peace Crusade," will be published once a fortnight at the office of the LEND A HAND SOCIETY, 1 Beacon St., Boston. The publication will continue until the close of the conference proposed by the Emperor of Russia. The price of subscription will be placed at twenty-five cents for the series. For one hundred such subscriptions the price will be $15.00.

THE LEND A HAND RECORD.

The readers of the PEACE CRUSADE know that this journal has been published at the office of the Lend a Hand Record. Now that the PEACE CRUSADE has fulfilled the duty which we undertook for it, its separate publication will cease. We invite all its readers, however, who are willing to engage in the work now set before the civilized world, to take the monthly Record of Lend a Hand, and read it carefully. The Lend a Hand Clubs have committed themselves definitely to the support of peace measures, as may be possible in the different communities where they are established. It will be the duty, as it will be the pleasure, of the directors of the Record, to keep in careful view, in each number, the progress of what we may call the movement for international peace.

AFTER THE CONFERENCE,—WHAT?

In printing the last number of the PEACE CRUSADE, we need not affect to disguise the satisfaction which the history of the Conference at The Hague gives to us. The steady-going world, unwilling to accept any excitement excepting that which comes from the noisy throb of battle, dismisses the Conference in its journals with a few words of praise or blame. It then passes to the next sensation, a great deal as a barber in his shop on a crowded Saturday night passes from one customer to another.

But in truth the Conference has achieved so much more than even the most hopeful students prophesied, that the historian of whatever school will be obliged to mention it in the future; and as years pass on the mention will be more and more accompanied with expressions of surprise that at the moment its transactions awoke so little interest. I quoted in an earlier number the sad foreboding of John Adams, when he said, in writing to Dr. Price in 1789, "We have made a constitution which will keep us from cutting each other's throats for a few years longer." This constitution, of which the second president of the United States then spoke so sadly, is the constitution of the greatest peace society which has ever existed. It was thus that a man as well read as any of those who framed it could speak of their work. John Adams was as well read, but perhaps not as wise. The instrument of which he spoke with so little hope has proved to be the foundation of this greatest of peace societies, the United States of America. And the success of this great exemplar leads us now to hope for the rest of the world.

So much one has a right to say by way of congratulation. But no one can read the full text which records the results of the Conference without seeing that in every na-

tion the real leaders of that nation have their hands full if they mean that these results shall become accomplished facts. In this America of ours there is everything to do.

Mr. Sumner said one day, when he had been bitterly criticised for neglecting some matter in our foreign diplomacy, that he was the guardian nurse of treaties. He said that, under our form of government, treaties at their birth had nobody to care for them. "They are poor foundlings," he said, "left on the steps of the Senate; and unless a philanthropist takes them in his arms, they die as soon as they are born, for want of food and care." And he said it had been his business, since he had been chairman of the foreign Committee, to nurse into life the treaties which he found on the threshold.

On the other hand, as will be well remembered, the State Department of his day pooh-poohed at Mr. Sumner and thought he rushed in where angels might well fear to tread. This is certain, that many is the treaty for which high hopes have been conceived, which has died as soon as it was born, because there was nobody to remember its existence, and nobody to administer to it the bread of life or its milk.

Mr. Sumner's figure of speech will answer as well now as it did five-and-twenty years ago. The nursing of the new agreement between the nations must not be left to accident. The American People must be roused for one of those sublime decisions before which Senates and Houses of Representatives bend as wheat bends before a summer breeze. It must not be left to this or that broken-winded politician, who foresees a "soft" place if he can be appointed a sub-secretary or a marshal of the new Court at The Hague;—it must not be left for him or such as he to press upon the Senate the ratification of the new articles or to press upon the House of Representatives the most liberal provision for the new Court. Here is a thing in which every man and woman of America may take a part. And unless a very large measure of the thinking men and women of America do take such a part, the agreement at The Hague will go where the agreement of Mr. Blaine's Congress of 1890 went;—that is it will die, and die without burial.

We shall from time to time call the attention of the working committees already appointed in this country to the fact that their work is not done, but is only begun.

The international organization of the Society of Christian Endeavor has already rendered very large assistance in awakening public attention where public attention needed to be awakened. We can rely on that organization for the future as a most efficient ally in the cause of peace.

In the magnificent organization of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Miss Willard and her friends foresaw the necessity of such action. That great society has a strong Central Committee, whose business it is to enforce upon the world, not simply the duty of peace but its methods. That important committee has had little to do till now; now it has enough to occupy every member in every state, in pressing upon the People the great necessity of the hour.

The various peace societies of the United States and Europe have lately been involved in rather a pathetic inquiry as to which of them was first born in the period of reaction which followed Waterloo. We venture to suggest to them that the important question is not when they were born, but whether they are alive to-day. They have now the great opportunity of showing that they are not mere talkers, gossiping about the possibilities of an indefinite future, but that among them are men and women who know the right, and can practice what they know.

If a voice could be found that could raise the dead, that voice should address the great mercantile associations at this hour. Thus far, they have shown themselves willing to profit by peace, and as willing to profit by

war. But every man of sense in the great affairs of commerce knows that any mercantile successes achieved in war are simply the prizes drawn in a badly conducted lottery, and that the losses inflicted by war are a thousand-fold greater than any of its rewards. Thus far the merchants have permitted the lawyers to go in advance of them in working out the great problem of the ages. They have deprecated war, but they have been very loth to lift a hand for peace. To every chamber of commerce in the nation we take the liberty of saying that now is the opportunity of showing that they are ashamed of their silence in the past. Let the men of trade remember that if they deprecate such crises as that which we still remember in the Venezuela stampede, they have thus far to thank themselves for them. The moment when they will unanimously intimate that peace is to be the law of finance and the regulating principle of the civilization of the twentieth century, that moment their intimation will be obeyed.

EDWARD E. HALE.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

[The following is the text of the project of arbitration drafted by the *comite d'examen*, which has been accepted by The Hague Conference, and is to be referred for approval to the different Governments represented there. We have already published a very full abridgment of this, but our readers will be glad to have the text in its official form.]

PROJECT OF CONVENTION FOR THE PEACEFUL REGULATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS.

SECTION 1.—THE MAINTENANCE OF THE GENERAL PEACE.

Article 1. In order to prevent as far as possible the recourse to force in international relations, the signatory Powers agree to employ all their efforts to bring about, by pacific means, the solution of the differences which may arise between States.

SECTION 2.—GOOD OFFICES AND MEDIATION.

Article 2. The signatory Powers agree that in case of grave disagreement or conflict, before appealing to arms, they will have recourse, so far as circumstances allow it, to the good offices or mediation of one or more of the friendly Powers.

Article 3. Independently of this recourse, the signatory Powers consider it useful that one or more Powers that are not concerned in the conflict should offer of their own initiative, so far as the circumstances lend themselves to it, their good offices or their mediation to the disputing States.

The Powers not concerned in the conflict have the right of offering their good offices or their mediation even during the course of hostilities.

The exercise of this right can never be considered by either of the disputing parties as an unfriendly act.

Article 4. The part of the Mediator consists in the reconciliation of contrary pretensions and in the allaying of the resentments which may be caused between the disputing States.

Article 5. The duties of the Mediator cease from the moment when it is announced, whether by one of the disputing parties, or by the Mediator himself, that the compromise or the basis of a friendly understanding proposed by him have not been accepted.

Article 6. Good offices and mediation, whether recourse is had to them by one of the disputing parties, or on the initiative of Powers not concerned in the conflict, have exclusively the character of counsel and are devoid of any obligatory force.

Article 7. The acceptance of mediation cannot have the effect, unless it be agreed to the contrary, of interrupting, retarding, or impeding mobilization and other measures preparatory to war.

If it (mediation) intervenes before the opening of hostilities, it does not, unless the

contrary be agreed upon, interrupt the current military operations.

Article 8. The signatory Powers agree to recommend the application, in circumstances which permit of it, of a special mediation in the following form :—

In the case of a grave disagreement endangering peace, the disputing States should each choose one Power to which they may entrust the mission of entering into direct communication with the Power chosen by the other side, for the purpose of preventing the rupture of pacific relations.

During the continuance of their mandate, the duration of which, unless the contrary is stipulated, cannot exceed 30 days, the question in dispute is considered as referred exclusively to these Powers. They must apply all their efforts to arranging the difference.

In case of the actual rupture of pacific relations, these Powers remain charged with the common mission of profiting by every opportunity of re-establishing peace.

Section 3. — International Commissions of Inquiry.

Article 9. In cases in which differences of opinion should arise between the signatory Powers with regard to the local circumstances which have given rise to a disagreement of an international character which could not be settled by the ordinary diplomatic methods, and in which neither the honor nor the vital interests of these Powers are at stake, the interested parties agree to have recourse, so far as the circumstances permit it, to the institution of International Commissions of Inquiry, in order to establish the circumstances which have given rise to dispute and to clear up, by an impartial and conscientious inquiry on the spot, all questions of fact.

Article 10. The International Commissions of Inquiry are constituted, unless it is stipulated to the contrary, in the manner determined by Article 31 of the present Convention.

Article 11. The interested Powers undertake to furnish to the International Commission of Inquiry, to the fullest extent that they shall consider possible, all the means and all the facilities necessary for the complete knowledge and exact appreciation of the facts in question.

Article 12. The International Commission of Inquiry shall present to the interested Powers its report signed by all the members of the Commission.

Article 13. The report of the International Commission of Inquiry has in no wise the character of an arbitral decision. It leaves the disputing powers entire freedom, either to conclude a friendly arrangement on the basis of this report, or have recourse ultimately to mediation or arbitration.

II.—Of International Arbitration.

Section 1.—Of Arbitration.

(Justice Arbitrale.)

Article 14. International arbitration has for its object the settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choosing and in conformity with their reciprocal rights.

Article 15. In questions of right, and especially in questions of the interpretation or application of International conventions, arbitration is recognized by the signatory Powers as the most effective and at the same time the most equitable means of settling disputes not arranged by diplomatic methods.

Article 16. The agreement to arbitrate may be concluded for disputes already in existence, or for disputes about to arise (*contestations eventuelles*). It can deal with every sort of dispute or only with disputes of a specified category.

Article 17. The arbitral convention involves an engagement to submit in good faith to the arbitral decision.

Article 18. Independently of general or special treaties, which may already bind the signatory Powers to have recourse to arbitration, these Powers reserve to themselves

the liberty to conclude, either before the ratification of the present Article or afterwards, new agreements, general or particular, with the object of extending compulsory arbitration to all cases which they judge capable of being submitted to it.

Article 19. With the object of promoting the development of arbitration, the signatory Powers consider it useful to lay down certain rules concerning arbitral jurisdiction and procedure.

These provisions are only applicable in case the parties themselves do not adopt other rules with reference to this matter.

SECTION 2.—OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF ARBITRATION.

Article 20. With the object of facilitating immediate recourse to the arbitration of international differences not settled by diplomatic means, the signatory Powers pledge themselves to organize in the following manner a permanent Court of arbitration, accessible at all times and working, except there be a contrary stipulation of the disputing parties, in conformity with the rules of procedure inserted in the present convention.

Article 21. This Court has competence in all cases of arbitration, unless the disputing parties agree to establish a special arbitral jurisdiction.

Article 22. An international Bureau established at The Hague and placed under the direction of a permanent secretary-general is to act as the office (*greffe*) of the Court.

It is to be the intermediary for the communications dealing with the meetings of the latter.

It is to have care of the archives and the conduct of all the administrative business.

Article 23. Each of the signatory Powers shall designate in the three months following the ratification of the present Act four persons at the most, of recognized competence in questions of international law, and enjoying the highest esteem (*jouissant de la plus haute consideration morale*), and ready to accept the duties of arbitrators.

The persons thus nominated will be entered, with the title of Members of the Court, on a list which will be communicated by the Bureau to all the signatory Powers.

Every modification of the list of arbitrators shall be brought to the notice of the signatory Powers by the Bureau.

Two or more Powers may agree to nominate one or more members in common.

The same person may be nominated by different Powers.

The members of the Court are appointed for a term of six years. Their appointment may be renewed.

In case of the decease or of the retirement of a member of the tribunal, the vacancy will be filled in accordance with the rules established for nomination.

Article 24. The signatory Powers which desire to apply to the Court for the settlement of differences which have arisen between them choose out of the general list the number of arbitrators jointly agreed upon.

They give notice to the Bureau of their intention to apply to the Court and of the names of the arbitrators whom they have nominated.

Article 25. The tribunal sits usually at The Hague.

It has the right to sit elsewhere, with the consent of the parties in litigation.

Article 26. Every Power, though not a signatory of this Act, can apply to the Court under the conditions prescribed by the present Convention.

Article 27. The signatory Powers consider it a duty, in case a sharp conflict should threaten to break out between two or more of them, to remind these that the permanent Court is open to them.

Consequently, they declare the fact that one or several of them reminding the disputing States of the provisions of the present Convention, and the advice given, in the higher interest of peace, to apply to the

permanent Court, can only be considered an exercise of good offices.

Article 28. A permanent council, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory Powers resident at The Hague, and the Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs, who shall discharge the functions of president, shall be constituted in that city as soon as possible after the ratification of the present Act.

This council shall be charged with establishing and organizing the international Bureau, which shall remain under its direction and under its control.

It shall notify the Powers of the constitution of the Court, and shall provide for its installation.

It shall decree its procedure, as well as all other necessary regulations.

It shall decide all questions which may arise touching the working of the tribunal.

It shall have absolute powers as to the nomination, suspension, or recall of the functionaries and employees of the Bureau.

It shall fix the pay and salaries, and control the general expenditure.

The presence of five members at meetings duly convoked shall suffice to enable the Council to deliberate in valid form. Decisions are taken by a majority of votes.

The Council addresses each year to the signatory Powers a report on the labors of the Court, on the discharge of the administrative services, and on the expenditure.

Article 29. The costs of the Bureau shall be borne by the signatory Powers in the proportion fixed by the international Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

SECTION 3.—OF ARBITRATION PROCEDURE.

Article 30. The Powers which accept arbitration will sign a special agreement or compromise [*acte special* (*compromis*)], in which is clearly laid down the object of the dispute, as well as the extent of the arbitrators' powers. This document shall confirm the undertaking of the parties to submit themselves in good faith to the arbitrators' decision.

Article 31. The arbitral functions may be conferred on one single arbitrator, or on several arbitrators, named by the parties at their own discretion, or chosen by them among the members of the permanent arbitration Court established by this Act.

In the absence of a contrary agreement, the formation of the tribunal of arbitration shall be proceeded with as follows:—

Each party shall name two arbitrators, and they shall choose together an umpire (*sur-arbitre*).

In case of a division of votes, the choice of the umpire shall be entrusted to a third Power, named in agreement by the parties.

If an agreement is not come to on this subject, each party shall designate a different Power, and the choice of the umpire shall be made in concert by the Powers so designated.

Article 32. When the arbitrator is a Sovereign, or the Chief of a State, the arbitration procedure shall be exclusively settled by his high determination.

Article 33. The umpire is president *de jure* of the tribunal.

When the tribunal does not include an umpire, it shall itself name its president.

Article 34. Except there be a stipulation to the contrary, in case of the decease or resignation of one of the arbitrators, or his inability from any cause whatever to act, the vacancy will be filled in accordance with the rules established for nomination.

Article 35. The seat of the tribunal is designated by the disputing parties, or, in default of such designation, by the Tribunal of Arbitration.

The seat thus fixed upon can only be changed in consequence of a new agreement between the interested States, or, in case of necessity (*raison majeure*), by decision of the tribunal itself.

Article 36. The disputing parties have the right to name to the tribunal delegates or special agents, to serve as intermediaries between the tribunal and the litigants.

They are, moreover, authorized to entrust

the defence of their rights and interests before the tribunal to counsel or advocates named by them for that purpose.

Article 37. The Tribunal decides upon the choice of languages authorized to be employed before it.

Article 38. The arbitral procedure comprises as a general rule two phases, the preliminary phase and the definitive phase.

The first consists in the communication made by the agents of the disputing parties to the members of the Tribunal and to the opposing party of all printed or written deeds and of all documents containing the cases of the parties.

The second is oral and consists in the hearing before the Tribunal.

Article 39. Every document produced by one of the parties must be communicated to the other party.

Article 40. The hearing before the Tribunal is directed by the president.

It is recorded in reports set forth by secretaries appointed by the president. These reports alone are to be regarded as authentic.

Article 41. The preliminary procedure being private and the debates being public, the Tribunal has the right to refuse all new deeds or documents which the representatives of one of the parties wish to submit to it without the consent of the other.

Article 42. The tribunal remains free to take into consideration new documents or proofs of which the agents or counsel of the disputing parties have made use in their arguments before it.

It has the right to demand the production of these documents or proofs apart from the obligation of making them known to the opposite party.

Article 43. The Tribunal can moreover require from the agents of the parties the production of all the documents and explanations which it requires. In case of refusal the Tribunal takes note of the fact.

Article 44. The agents and counsel of the litigating parties are authorized to present orally to the Tribunal all the arguments they consider useful for the defence of their cause.

Article 45. They have the right to raise objections or incidental points. The decisions of the Tribunal upon these points settle the controversy, and cannot give rise to any further discussion.

Article 46. The members of the Tribunal have the right to ask questions of the agents and counsel of the disputing parties, and to demand from them explanations of doubtful points.

Neither the questions put nor the observations made by the members of the Tribunal in the course of the debates can be regarded as enunciations of the opinion of the Tribunal in general, or of its members in particular.

Article 47. The Tribunal alone is authorized to settle its competence, by the interpretation of the agreement to arbitrate as well as of other treaties which may be invoked in the matter, and by the application of the principles of international law.

Article 48. The Tribunal has the right to make rules of procedure for the direction of the arbitration, to settle the forms and periods within which each party will be obliged to finish its case, and to carry out all the formalities necessary for the receiving of evidence.

Article 49. The agents and counsel of the disputing parties having presented all explanations and evidence on behalf of their cause, the president of the Tribunal announces the closing of the hearing.

Article 50. The deliberations of the Tribunal take place with closed doors.

Every decision is taken by a majority of members of the Tribunal.

The refusal of a member to give his vote must be noted in the report.

Article 51. The arbitral decision voted by a majority must state the reasons on which it is based. It is to be set down in writing and signed by all the members of the Tribunal.

Those members who are in a minority may, when signing, record their dissent.

Article 52. The arbitral decision is read out at a public sitting of the Tribunal in the presence of the agents and counsel of the disputing parties, or after they have been duly summoned.

Article 53. The arbitral decision, duly pronounced and notified to the agents of the disputing parties, definitely decides the question at issue, and closes the arbitration proceedings instituted by the agreement to arbitrate.

Article 54. Except in the case of a contrary provision contained in the agreement to arbitrate, revision of the arbitral decision may be demanded of the Tribunal which has given the decision, but only on the ground of the discovery of a new fact, which would have been of such a nature as to exercise a decisive influence on the judgment, and which at the moment of such judgment was unknown to the Tribunal itself and to the parties.

The procedure of revision can only be opened by a decision of the Tribunal expressly declaring the existence of the new fact, possessing the character set forth in the preceding paragraph, and declaring that the demand is admissible on that ground.

No demand for revision can be accepted three months after notification of the decision.

Article 55. The arbitral decision is only obligatory on the parties who have concluded the agreement to arbitrate.

When it is a question of the interpretation of a convention existing between a greater number of Powers than those between which the difference at issue has arisen, the disputing parties notify to the other Powers who have signed the convention, the agreement to arbitrate which they have made. Each of those Powers has the right to intervene in the proceedings. If one or more of them have availed themselves of this privilege, the interpretation contained in the judgment is equally obligatory on them also.

Article 56. Each party bears its own expenses and an equal share of the expenses of the Tribunal, without prejudice to the penalties which may be imposed by the Tribunal against one or another of the parties.

It is proposed to add the three following articles to those relating to the permanent Court of arbitration:—

"Article A. The members of the Court shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities in the exercise of their functions."

"Article B. The Bureau is authorized to place its premises and its organization at the disposal of the signatory Powers for any cases of special arbitration. (*Pour le fonctionnement de toute juridiction speciale d'arbitrage.*)"

"Article C. The signatory Powers pledge themselves to communicate to the bureau a copy of every arbitral stipulation agreed upon between them, and of all judgments resulting from arbitral jurisdictions other than that of the Court. They pledge themselves to communicate to the bureau the laws and regulations and all documents registering the execution of the judgments pronounced by the court."

PEACE CONFERENCE CLOSED.

THE HAGUE, July 29, 1899. The International Peace Conference met for its final sitting to-day, when it was announced that 16 States had signed the arbitration convention, 15 the other two conventions, 17 the declaration prohibiting the throwing of projectiles or explosives from balloons, 16 the declaration prohibiting the use of asphyxiating gases, and 15 the declaration prohibiting the use of expansive bullets.

A letter was read from the queen of Holland to the Pope asking his moral support of the Conference, and the reply, promising co-operation and recalling the fact that he had many times performed the function of arbitrator and assuring her majesty that the Pope would continue to seek the advancement of civilization.

Baron de Staal delivered the farewell address thanking the representatives of foreign States. He said the work accomplished, while not so complete as might be desired, was sincere, wise, and practical. The great principles of the sovereignty of individual States and international solidarity, apparently so opposing, had been reconciled by what they had accomplished. He affirmed that in time to come institutions which had their origin in the need of concord would be the dominating influence, and that thus the work of the conference was truly meritorious.

Minister Estournelles and Dr. Beaufort followed, the latter saying that if the Conference had not realized utopian dreams, nevertheless it had disproved pessimistic forebodings; and the moral effect would more and more influence public opinion and governments to solve the question of the limitation of armaments, which still remains a source of grave consideration for statesmen of all countries.

Baron de Staal then declared the conference closed.

The three conventions dealing with arbitration, the laws and customs of war, and the adaptation of the Geneva convention to naval warfare were not signed by Germany, Austria-Hungary, China, Italy, England, Luxembourg, Servia, Switzerland, or Turkey. The United States only signed the arbitration convention, and that under reserve. Roumania also made reservation.

The three declarations prohibiting the throwing of explosives from balloons, the use of asphyxiating projectiles, and the use of Dum-Dum bullets were not signed by Germany, Austria-Hungary, China, England, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Servia, or Switzerland, while the United States only signed the declaration regarding the throwing of explosives from balloons.

RESULTS.

In looking back on what now seems a session so short of the great Congress in The Little House in the Wood, it is interesting to compare the results as well with the sanguine hopes of the people who look forward as with the gloomy groans of those who prefer to look back.

Col. Roosevelt said of Santiago that in a certain crisis he had to run as fast as he could lest his men should get before him. From month to month, the Directors of the Peace Crusade have felt a similar difficulty as the Great Council came to understand itself,—as it was better and better accustomed to its duty, and advanced without a recognized leader, if you please, but at what the French call the changing pace across its field of victory. It has not done some things which some of us asked for, but it has set in motion projects which would have been thought impossible six months ago.

1. Looking back on the opening speech of the Baron de Staal, one sees with pleasure that the Congress held firm to his suggestion that it should confine itself to work. Undoubtedly, there has been unnecessary talk, and when we have the full history of the Assembly, we shall know what this talk was about. But when we consider that the Council of Trent, which lasted for nineteen years, we have reason to commend the Congress for completing its work in less than three months. In history, it has its great example in our own Convention of 1787, of which the first session was held on the third of May, and which finally adjourned after four months, in which the sessions were held almost daily.

2. It seems certain that this is only the first of a series of similar assemblies of statesmen from all civilized nations of the world. The easy working of the Congress, though it had absolutely no precedence for its direction, has shown that there are many things which such an assembly can arrange which are impossible under the antiquated forms of what we may now call feudal diplomacy.

3. The Congress has not secured the safety of private property at sea, but it has

again called attention to the subject—not the attention of two or three nations, but the attention of mankind. That very curious question why men in the naval service of a nation should receive prize money, when there is no prize money for soldiers who serve on land, has been presented in such a form that it must now be answered.

4. We wait for the complete reports of the Congress before we can speak of what may be called details of administration which will be improved in consequence of its deliberations. Among these are the corrections and additions to the plans of the Red Cross. We had a right to hope, more than to expect some movement towards an international currency which would give to the commercial relations of the people of the twenty-four United Nations the same facility which is now enjoyed by the merchants of the forty-five states of our own Union. We shall find, perhaps, that in private conferences at The Hague something has been done to set forward so great an improvement in what we may call International Finance.

5. Whether the Congress has or has not appointed a special commission authorized to make a statement of what are now the axioms of International Law, it is certain that those axioms are to-day better understood than they were four months ago. The writers of the future have already a better right to speak of certain points in the intercourse of nations as acknowledged and established.

6. Above all, first, second, and last, the Congress has established the PERMANENT TRIBUNAL. The diplomacy of the world thus advances by a visible, definite step. Nations are no longer like travellers in the middle of a desert, wondering how they can set up a tent before the storm strikes them which they see rising on the horizon. As Sir Julian Pauncefote said so wisely and wittily, they have a convenient inn ready for them, inviting them to come in.

It may happen, of course, that when the storm breaks some of the travellers will stubbornly stay outside and test their umbrellas. But human nature is human nature, and it is well nigh certain that the great majority of travellers will know enough to go into the house when it rains.

In the establishment of this Permanent Tribunal, the Congress has distinguished the end of the century. For the nineteenth century had made no such step before.

THE DUM-DUM BULLET.

In the account of the final meeting of The Hague Congress is a reference to Dr. White's allusion to the discussion of the Dum-Dum bullet in the Committee.

We have not entered into the discussion of this detail, acting on the general principle which we laid down in the first numbers of THE CRUSADE. We have regarded all time given to such details as time diverted from the first object, which, happily, has been attained:—the establishment of a

PERMANENT TRIBUNAL.

We are in no way authorized to speak for our delegates or for the State Department. But we suppose that if they were questioned as to the judicious attitude taken at The Hague by the United States, they would be glad to free their order from the involutions which have given a bad meaning to the word "Diplomacy."

We suppose they would say, substantially, that the way of wisdom does not lie in limiting the destructiveness of the implements of war, or even in creating an euthanasia for its victims, or in making wounds painless. War is essentially and unalterably horrid. But if a man or a country is attacked by a superior force, and existence is in danger, it seems an inalienable right to defend one's self with whatever weapon will prove most effective.

The business of our Commissioners was to present a plan of an international tribunal to render war unnecessary. Certainly the Government had no intention, in doing

this to put limits on the inventive force of our people as respects means of self-defence. Had we even attempted this in any formal statement, that statement would be ignored in the first moment of war. It is certain that nothing would be gained by making war a professional sport. To rescue and recover men put *hors de combat* is one thing, and our delegation has joined cordially in all efforts for this purpose.

In practice, we have no doubt that it will prove that the true philosophy is to appeal in every way possible from force, from battle to jurisprudence. The Country, therefore, will be glad to see that our representatives at The Hague have held steadily and chiefly to the two great objects, a Permanent Tribunal and the immunity of private property at sea. The first has been gained,—and we are nearer to the second.

HELL AND BANKRUPTCY.

The great Conference has come and gone. It has done its work and has passed into history. In spite of doubts and sneers, indifference and opposition,—in spite of Rudyard Kipling and Gov. Roosevelt,—it has accomplished results which will make this year an epoch in the history of civilization.

But the battle is not won. A vast deal remains to be done, particularly here in America. The Senate rejected the arbitration treaty with Great Britain. Only a strong and aroused public sentiment can save the present agreements from a possibility of similar defeat.

Enough—perhaps too much — has been said of the horror and wickedness of war. Gen. Sherman was certainly an expert witness; and he told us that war was hell. Nobody can disprove this statement, and yet, during the past year, we have been led to realize that, even in America, there is a difference of taste in matters infernal. War may be hell: but, as Abraham Lincoln said, "for any one who likes that kind of thing, it is just about the kind of thing that he would like." But there is another argument, practically stronger, if lower; the appeal to the pocket. War is not only hell, but bankruptcy also. The very armaments maintained by the nations of Europe in preparation for war are a ruinous burden.

A study of the figures of the military and naval budgets of the great nations of Europe is an excellent antidote for the poison of military enthusiasm. Since 1870, the increase in army and navy expenditures has been startling, as shown in the following table:

	1870.	1899.
Great Britain	$115,000,000	$240,000,000
France . . .	78,000,000	207,500,000
Germany . .	56,500,000	175,500,000
Russia . . .	78,000,000	200,000,000
Italy. . . .	36,000,000	66,500,000
Austria . .	33,500,000	69,500,000

During the same period, the increase in the population was as follows:—

	1870	1899
Great Britain .	30,800,000	40,500,000
France . . .	36,000,000	39,000,000
Germany . . .	41,000,000	54,000,000
Russia	83,000,000	131,400,000
Italy	26,500,000	32,000,000
Austria . . .	36,000,000	45,000,000

There is not one of these great nations, excepting Italy, which, in less than thirty years, has not more than doubled its military and naval expenditure. France and Germany, in round numbers, have trebled it. With the single exception of Russia, no one of them has gained more than about 25 or 30 per cent. in population in the same period. It is a startling fact that the army and navy to-day cost Great Britain six dollars a year for every man, woman, and child of her population; France, more than five dollars; Germany, three dollars; Italy, two dollars; Austria and Russia a dollar and a half each. Is it any wonder that the Czar should call a halt?

The same insidious disease has already attacked the United States, a country which has less excuse for militarism than any great nation in the world. Our expenditures for

army and navy have increased from $79,000,000.00 in 1870, to $130,000,000.00 in 1899; and the growth is liable to go on, with the large increase of the army and navy that would follow a decision to embark on the disastrous policy of colonial empire.

We may not be a nation of saints, but we are admitted to possess good business common sense. Our last word to the readers of THE CRUSADE shall be this: War and great armaments do not pay. Let us all do our utmost to push forward the great work for permanent peace so well begun at The Hague. D. G. H., JR.

THE FINAL ACT.

The Final Act embodying the results of the Peace Conference says:—

"In the series of meetings in which the delegates have been throughout inspired by the desire to realize in the largest possible measure the generous views of its august initiator, the Conference has drawn up for the signature of the plenipotentiaries and the approval of their Governments the text of the conventions and declarations hereafter enumerated and appended to the present Act:—

"I. A convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

"II. A convention concerning the laws and customs of war on land.

"III. A convention for the adaptation to naval warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864.

"IV. Three declarations concerning—(1.) The prohibition of the throwing of projectiles and explosives from balloons or by other analagous means; (2) the prohibition of the use of projectiles which have for their sole object the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases; (3) the prohibition of the use of bullets which expand easily in the human body."

The Final Act then contains the five following expressions of opinion:—

"I. The Conference considers that the limitation of the military charges which at present oppress the world is greatly to be desired for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind.

"II. The Conference expresses the opinion that the question of the rights and duties of neutrals should be inscribed on the programme of a conference to be held at an early date.

"III. The Conference expresses the opinion that questions relative to the type and calibre of the rifles and naval artillery such as have been examined by it should be the subject of study by the different governments, with a view to arriving eventually at a uniform solution by means of a further conference.

"IV. The Conference taking into consideration the preliminary steps taken by the Swiss Federal Government for the revision of the Geneva Convention, expresses the wish that a special conference be shortly convened for the purpose of revising this convention.

"V. The Conference has resolved unanimously, with the exception of a few abstentions, that the following questions should be reserved for examination by future conferences:—(1) A proposal tending to declare the inviolability of private property in war on land; (2) a proposal regulating the question of the bombardment of ports, towns, and villages by a naval force."

This Final Act will be signed by the delegates who have the powers of plenipotentiaries, and will be accompanied by the text of the conventions, which will be signed by several countries and will remain open for the eventual adhesion of others. Great Britain makes reserves declaring that she does not accept the second and third declarations or the third and fifth resolutions.

The Peace Conference has adopted the proposal that, whenever war seems likely to break out, the Powers concerned shall be reminded by the other Powers of the existence of a permanent Court of arbitration. The United States agreed to this with a reservation declaring that they do not desire to depart from their traditional policy of not interfering in the politics of other nations.

Jun 8 [illegible]